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ABSTRACT

This supplement to the "Bicentennial of the Constitution" highlights the process of the U.S. Constitution's ratification. Chapter 1 provides a chronology of national ratification history dates, a list of state ratification dates, and a list of the individual states' bicentennial ratification commemoration dates. Chapter 2 describes ratification history, while chapter 3 compares roles of the Federalists and Anti-Federalists. Chapter 4 provides three ratification lesson plans and teaching guides. A guide to the "Federalist Papers" appears in chapter 5, selected quotations about the U.S. Constitution's ratification are included in chapter 6, and learning and commemorative activities are provided in chapters 7 and 8. Chapter 9 describes bicentennial-related resource materials and commemorative items, and chapter 10 features a 1988 monthly calendar of historical ratification events. Charts and drawings are included. (JHP)

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Resource Guide

BICENTENNIAL & THE CONSTITUTION

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SUPPLEMENT I: 1988

RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

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We the People ***of the United States,***
in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

In a nutshell this explains the reason we celebrate the Bicentennial of the Constitution. As military or civilian representatives of the Armed Forces of the United States, our first official act when we enlist or accept commissions or federal appointments is to swear an oath to defend and support the Constitution. This very act makes us unique from most Americans. Why? Because only federal government personnel — including military and civilians, as well as elected or appointed officials — swear this oath to defend and support the very fabric of our government and way of life. This is our first duty to the Nation and it is given in the phrase, "to provide for the common defence." And, providing for the common defense is related to the last phrase: "securing the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." For it is through our energies and our dedication to duty that we provide the defense that sustains our liberty.

A message to those who teach:

Telling the great story of our Constitution, especially in the education of younger Americans, must be a primary focus of attention as America carries on during the next four years with the commemoration of that Constitution and the beginnings of our federal system of government. This represents the wisest investment in a future whose generations will continue to understand and appreciate, as well as enjoy, those blessings which have been bestowed upon us during the last two centuries. George Mason, author of the Virginia Declaration of Rights, said that if a free people do not look back at their rights and how they secured them, they take the risk of losing them.

The Department of the Army and the Bicentennial Commission have worked together in the telling of this story. This book is a useful tool for all who teach.

John O. Marsh, Jr.
Secretary of the Army

Warren E. Burger
Chairman of the Commission
on the Bicentennial of the
United States Constitution

BICENTENNIAL OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

A RESOURCE GUIDE

SUPPLEMENT I: 1988

RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Office of the Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Army
for the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution
Washington, D.C. 20310-0107

Officially Recognized by the Commission on the
Bicentennial of the United States Constitution

The purpose of this resource guide supplement is to help commands commemorate the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, with emphasis on the Ratification process. The Department of the Army has been designated the Executive Agent for the Department of Defense for celebrating the Constitution Bicentennial - this book was designed to help you do just that. Local reproduction of this guide is encouraged.

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Commemoration Covers Five-Year Period

Each year of the Constitution Bicentennial period has a distinct significance for the Founding of America. The Commission proposes that the celebration of the Bicentennial of the Constitution have five phases, corresponding to the five-year period from 1987 through 1991. The commemoration should be grounded on the historical events of 200 years ago, but the scope of the activities and celebration should include the entire 200 years of the American experience right up to the present. The evolution of the Constitution to meet new needs will be treated.

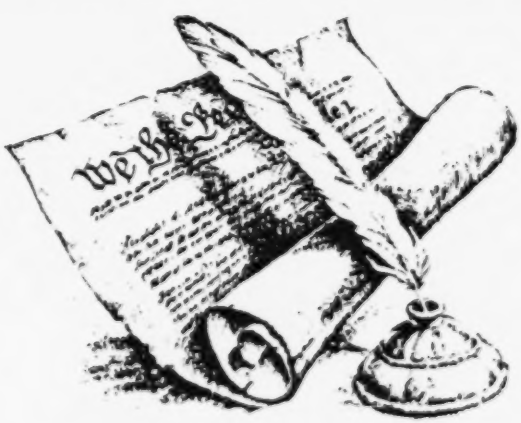
(1) 1987: "Framing the Constitution." The year 1987 was dedicated to the memory of the Founders and the great document that they drafted in Philadelphia. The anniversary of the Convention's adoption of the Constitution on September 17, 1987, provided fitting ceremonies, both solemn and festive, throughout the Nation. The celebration during 1986 and 1987 was educational, with particular attention to the discussions and debates within the Convention and analysis of the Constitution itself.

(2) 1988: "Ratifying the Constitution." The drafting and signing of the Constitution was only the first step. Ratification, required by nine states, was accomplished in 1788. The national debate over ratification produced *The Federalist* Papers. This phase of the celebration focuses on the exciting deliberations presented in *The Federalist* Papers, the birthdays of the states as they joined the union, and on the state and local legislators who are veterans of the Armed Forces. The Legislator-Veteran theme is an extension of the Soldier-Statesman theme.

(3) 1989: "Establishing a Government and National Defense." The year 1789 recognized the convening of the first Congress, the inauguration of George Washington as the first president and the establishment of the United States Supreme Court. This phase focuses on the three branches of government, the establishment of the War Department, and on the veteran-presidents and national legislators.

(4) 1990: "The Judiciary and the Uniform Code of Military Justice." The first session of the United States Supreme Court was held in 1790. This phase focuses on the role of the law, specifically the Uniform Code of Military Justice in the United States Armed Forces.

(5) 1991: "The Bill of Rights." The first ten amendments to the Constitution, known as the Bill of Rights, were ratified in 1791. This phase focuses on the ratification of the Bill of Rights and the amendment process which makes the Constitution a "living document."



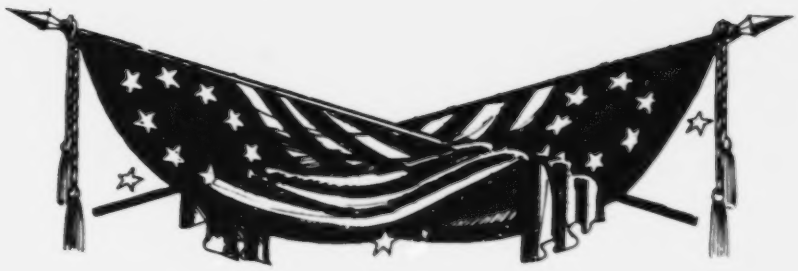
INTRODUCTION

Understandably, the Nation's celebration of the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution focused initially on the momentous events that occurred in Philadelphia during the summer of 1787. But the Framers' effort would have counted for little if their handiwork had not won the approval of the special state conventions organized in the ensuing months to consider the Constitution. An event of transcendent importance in the evolution of democratic government, the ratification of the Constitution is also an exciting political story that clearly demonstrates how the sharp debates between the Federalists, those who sponsored the new republican form of government, and the Anti-Federalists brought focus and understanding to the key issues for the Ratification delegates. This process not only produced an enduring literature of political theory, but demonstrated how the Nation's most noble political sentiments, enshrined in the Bill of Rights, actually emerged. In short, the ratification story deserves our study and our thoughtful consideration.

Men and women of the Armed Forces can take special pride in the realization that many of those who worked for ratification were military veterans. Using political skills and friendships developed during the Revolutionary War, these Soldier-Statesmen played a major role in resolving the thorny issue of potential abuse of power in the Constitution, and then went on to its defense in the various State conventions. Of particular interest to those of us who serve in the Armed Forces, the Constitution they helped write established for all time the precedent that the military, subordinated to civilian authority, would remain the servant of the Republic. That concept remains the underpinning of the professional identity and loyalty of the American soldier.

John O. Marsh, Jr.

John O. Marsh, Jr.
Secretary of the Army



CHAPTER I

Commemorative Dates

CHRONOLOGY OF BICENTENNIAL DATES

October 27, 1787:	The first *Federalist* paper appears in New York City newspapers. Written under the pseudonym, "Publius," 85 papers will appear between October 1787 to May 1788. The papers will be written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay defending the proposed Constitution.
December 7, 1787:	Delaware, unanimously, becomes the first state to ratify the Constitution.
December 12, 1787:	Pennsylvania ratifies the Constitution by a 46 to 23 vote.
December 18, 1787:	New Jersey unanimously ratifies the Constitution.
January 2, 1788:	Georgia unanimously ratifies the Constitution.
January 9, 1788:	Connecticut ratifies the Constitution by a vote of 128 to 40.
February 6, 1788:	Massachusetts ratifies the Constitution by a close vote of 187 to 168.
March 24, 1788:	Rhode Island, which did not attend the Convention, holds a popular referendum rather than a state convention. The Constitution is rejected by a vote of 2,708 to 237. Federalists do not participate.
April 28, 1788:	Maryland ratifies the Constitution by a 63 to 11 vote.
May 23, 1788:	South Carolina ratifies the Constitution by a vote of 149 to 73.
June 21, 1788:	New Hampshire becomes the ninth state to ratify the Constitution by a vote of 57 to 47 making it our new form of government.
June 25, 1788:	Virginia, despite very strong opposition, ratifies the Constitution by 89 to 79.
July 2, 1788:	The President of Congress announces that the Constitution has been ratified by the nine needed states.
July 26, 1788:	New York ratifies the Constitution by a slim margin of 30 to 27.
August 2, 1788:	North Carolina declines to ratify the Constitution until a bill of rights is added.

A Young Republic

September 13, 1788:	Congress selects New York City as the site of the new federal government and chooses dates for appointments and balloting of presidential electors.
October 10, 1788:	The Congress of the Confederacy completes its last day of existence.

December 23, 1788:	Maryland cedes ten square miles to Congress for a federal city.
January 7, 1789:	Presidential electors are chosen.
February 4, 1789:	Presidential electors vote choosing George Washington as President and John Adams as Vice President. Elections for Senators and Representatives take place in the states for the new U.S. Congress.
March 4, 1789:	The First Congress convenes in New York City.
April 1, 1789:	The House of Representatives elects Frederick A. Muhlenberg of Pennsylvania as its speaker.
April 6, 1789:	The Senate chooses John Langdon as its temporary speaker.
April 30, 1789:	George Washington is inaugurated as the first United States President. The oath is delivered at the corner of Wall and Board Streets in New York City.
June 8, 1789:	James Madison introduces proposed Bill of Rights into the House of Representatives.
July 27, 1789:	Congress establishes the Department of Foreign Affairs. In later years it becomes the Department of State.
August 7, 1789:	The War Department is established.
September 2, 1789:	Congress establishes the Treasury Department.
September 22, 1789:	The Office of the Postmaster General is established.
September 24, 1789:	Congress passes the Federal Judiciary Act which establishes the Supreme Court, thirteen district courts, three circuit courts, and the office of the Attorney General.
September 25, 1789:	Congress passes 12 amendments, the original Bill of Rights, and sends them to the states for ratification.
September 29, 1789:	Congress establishes the Department of the Army under the Constitution.
November 20, 1789:	New Jersey ratifies ten of twelve amendments which will become the Bill of Rights.
November 21, 1789:	North Carolina ratifies the Constitution by a 194 to 77 vote after Congress passes the Bill of Rights.
December 19, 1789:	Maryland ratifies the Bill of Rights.
December 22, 1789:	North Carolina ratifies the Bill of Rights.
January 25, 1790:	New Hampshire ratifies the Bill of Rights.

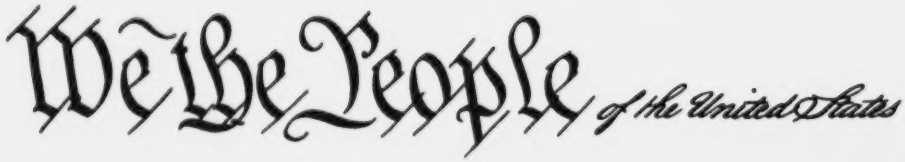
January 28, 1790:	Delaware ratifies the Bill of Rights.
February 2, 1790:	The Supreme Court convenes for the first time.
February 24, 1790:	New York ratifies the Bill of Rights.
March 10, 1790:	Pennsylvania ratifies the Bill of Rights.
May 29, 1790:	Rhode Island ratifies the Constitution by a vote of 34 to 32, the last of the original states to do so.
June 7, 1790:	Rhode Island ratifies the Bill of Rights.
June 20, 1790:	The House of Representatives votes 32 to 29 to locate the national capitol on a ten-square mile plot on the Potomac River and designates Philadelphia as the temporary capitol.
December 6, 1790:	Congress moves from New York to the temporary capitol of Philadelphia.
January 10, 1791:	Vermont ratifies the Constitution.
February 25, 1791:	President Washington signs a bill establishing the Bank of the United States.
March 3, 1791:	Congress passes the Whiskey Act setting an excise tax on distilled spirits and stills.
March 4, 1791:	Vermont is admitted as the 14th state in the Union.
September 10, 1791:	General Arthur St. Clair leads an expedition into the Northwest Territory in order to establish forts in the region.
November 3, 1791:	Vermont ratifies the Bill of Rights.
December 15, 1791:	Virginia ratifies the Bill of Rights and the amendments become part of the United States Constitution.

RATIFICATION OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION BY CHRONOLOGICAL DATE

Delaware	7 Dec 1787
Pennsylvania	12 Dec 1787
New Jersey	18 Dec 1787
Georgia	2 Jan 1788
Connecticut	9 Jan 1788
Massachusetts	6 Feb 1788
Maryland	28 Apr 1788
South Carolina	23 May 1788
New Hampshire	21 Jun 1788
Virginia	25 Jun 1788
New York	26 Jul 1788
North Carolina	21 Nov 1788
Rhode Island	29 May 1790
Vermont	10 Jan 1791
Kentucky	1 Jun 1792
Tennessee	1 Jun 1796
Ohio	1 Mar 1803
Louisiana	30 Apr 1812
Indiana	11 Dec 1816
Mississippi	10 Dec 1817
Illinois	3 Dec 1818
Alabama	14 Dec 1819
Maine	15 Mar 1820
Missouri	10 Aug 1821
Arkansas	15 Jun 1836
Michigan	26 Jan 1837
Florida	3 Mar 1845
Texas	29 Dec 1845
Iowa	28 Dec 1846
Wisconsin	29 May 1848
California	9 Sep 1850
Minnesota	11 May 1858
Oregon	14 Feb 1859
Kansas	29 Jan 1861
West Virginia	20 Jun 1863
Nevada	31 Oct 1864
Nebraska	1 Mar 1867
Colorado	1 Aug 1876
North Dakota	2 Nov 1889
South Dakota	2 Nov 1889
Montana	8 Nov 1889
Washington	11 Nov 1889
Idaho	3 Jul 1890
Wyoming	10 Jul 1890
Utah	4 Jan 1896
Oklahoma	16 Nov 1907
New Mexico	6 Jan 1912
Arizona	14 Feb 1912
Alaska	3 Jan 1959
Hawaii	21 Aug 1959

ANNOUNCED 1987 - 1988 STATEHOOD COMMEMORATIVE CELEBRATION DATES

Delaware	7 Dec 1987
Pennsylvania	12 Dec 1987
New Jersey	18 Dec 1987
Georgia	2 Jan 1988
Alaska	3 Jan 1988
Utah	4 Jan 1988
New Mexico	6 Jan 1988
Connecticut	9 Jan 1988
Michigan	26 Jan 1988
Kansas	29 Jan 1988
Massachusetts	6 Feb 1988
Oregon	14 Feb 1988
Arizona	14 Feb 1988
Ohio	1 Mar 1988
Nebraska	1 Mar 1988
Florida	3 Mar 1988
Vermont	4 Mar 1988
Maine	15 Mar 1988
Maryland	29 Apr 1988
Louisiana	30 Apr 1988
Minnesota	11 May 1988
South Carolina	23 May 1988
Rhode Island	29 May 1988
Wisconsin	29 May 1988
Kentucky	1 Jun 1988
Tennessee	1 Jun 1988
Arkansas	15 Jun 1988
West Virginia	20 Jun 1988
New Hampshire	21 Jun 1988
Virginia	25 Jun 1988
Idaho	3 Jul 1988
Wyoming	10 Jul 1988
New York	26 Jul 1988
Colorado	1 Aug 1988
Missouri	10 Aug 1988
Hawaii	21 Aug 1988
California	9 Sep 1988
Nevada	31 Oct 1988
North Dakota	2 Nov 1988
South Dakota	2 Nov 1988
Montana	8 Nov 1988
Washington	11 Nov 1988
Oklahoma	16 Nov 1988
North Carolina	21 Nov 1988
Illinois	3 Dec 1988
Mississippi	10 Dec 1988
Indiana	11 Dec 1988
Alabama	14 Dec 1988
Iowa	28 Dec 1988
Texas	29 Dec 1988



CHAPTER II

Ratification History

RATIFICATION HISTORY

During the summer of 1787 fifty-five men labored in Philadelphia to produce a document, the Constitution of the United States of America. It proposed a radically new form of government to thirteen states still recovering from an eight-year-long war that wrested independence from Britain in the name of defending liberty. Those men, a majority of whom were veterans of active duty during the Revolution, displayed transcendent wisdom and vision during those sultry months. By exercising patience and a profound sense of responsibility not only to their fellow citizens, but to generations still to be born, they hammered out a long series of compromises.

Finally, during the afternoon of 17 September, a simple ceremony in the Pennsylvania State House (now known as Independence Hall), in the same room where some of the delegates had also signed the Declaration of Independence, completed the task. Thirty-nine* delegates, headed by their presiding officer, George Washington, answered the roll call to sign the Constitution. (* John Dickinson's name was rendered by George Read because Dickinson was ill.) William Jackson, the convention's hired secretary, added his attestation, and the body adjourned for the last time. On 18 September Jackson set out for New York City where the Congress of the Articles of Confederation was in session and two days later delivered the document and Washington's covering letter.

Three of the forty-two convention members still present in Philadelphia on that fateful day refused to give their assent to the document. Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts and Virginia's Edmund Randolph and George Mason all harbored reservations about many of the provisions approved by the majority. In point of fact, however, none of the Framers considered their work to be perfect -- but, with those three exceptions, all felt that the result reasonably accomplished the difficult goal of promoting greater efficiency at the national level without endangering the liberties preserved by the Revolution. These lingering doubts gave warning that trouble could still lie ahead.

Transmittal of the completed Constitution did not mark the end of their labors. The Framers carefully chose the opening words of the Preamble -- "We the People" -- to make an important statement about the source of their authority, and insisted that no governing body then in force could implement it. Instead, they required Congress to transmit copies to the thirteen states, each of which was to convene a special convention to vote for or against the plan. Only after a clear majority, nine states, had ratified it was the new government, composed of three separate branches (legislative, executive and judiciary), to be formed. The delegates knew that this would be a difficult process, for the central issues of government touched upon many deeply-held personal convictions and would become inextricably entangled in a welter of local politics. Many Framers returned to their homes to begin the arduous task of convincing their neighbors to support the Constitution. About a dozen others followed the document to New York City and resumed their seats in Congress. To these men fell the task of fighting the first of many ratification battles.

The central government represented by the Congress operated under the Articles of Confederation, a document first drafted by Framer John Dickinson in 1776 while Thomas Jefferson was performing similar work on the Declaration of Independence. After considerable debate and modification it went into effect on 1 March 1781. The Articles, crafted under the pressures of an ongoing war for national survival, contained many defects. They provided for a loose confederation of thirteen otherwise independent entities, and deliberately sacrificed efficiency in order to preserve liberties. Time and a host of political, diplomatic and economic

crises convinced nearly everyone that changes had to be made in the existing system.

Some, especially those who had witnessed firsthand the difficulties of waging a successful war, believed that the drastic alteration envisioned by the Constitution had to be made. Others, reading the same lessons of history, drew a different meaning. To them the fact that victory had come seemed ample proof that only minor adjustments were needed. The coming months would pit the two groups in the first national political contest, with the former carrying the label of "Federalists" and the latter "Anti-Federalists."

Despite heated rhetoric, both factions were composed of patriots, many of whom had born arms during the Revolution. Both stood for Liberty and shared a heritage of opposition to arbitrary central authority personified by the British King. These "Whigs" differed in the final analysis in their attitudes towards human nature. While each side conceded that mankind was a flawed species, prone to stray from the proper path, the Federalists felt that a government constructed with careful attention to checks and balances could achieve efficiency without placing liberty at risk. The Anti-Federalists, called by one historian the "Men of Little Faith," clung to older traditions and argued that rights were best protected by keeping government closest to the people, that is at the state and local level, with only minimal concession to a national government. These men argued particularly that European philosophers and the lessons of history proved that a republic could only survive if it were kept small, and therefore that a confederation of thirteen separate republics under modified Articles had to be preserved.

The Federalists enjoyed several important advantages entering the ratification struggle. First and foremost, they were fighting *for* something, whereas the Anti-Federalists, as their very name implies, waged a negative battle, and did not have any coherent alternative to offer, only a wide array of different suggestions. Secondly, the Framers and long-term allies such as Secretary at War Henry Knox provided an important network of leadership. Frequently men of considerable experience in practical politics and government at the highest levels, they carried great influence with the voting public and were able to pursue a coordinated program. The final advantage came in the person of Washington, already "first in the hearts of his countrymen." No one doubted that the wartime Commander in Chief would become the first President if the Constitution went into effect, and his proven track record as a trustworthy leader seemed to turn many of the Anti-Federalists' theoretical "worst case" fears into idle speculation.

Working under the leadership of Washington and other Signers, the Federalists quickly established a strategy for accomplishing ratification. Because they knew that broad national support was necessary to make the new government survive, and because they understood that voters had legitimate concerns, the Federalists began a public campaign to present their case in a favorable light, focusing on speeches, newspaper articles, and pamphlets. Emphasis went on issues where agreement was possible; potentially divisive matters were ignored as much as possible. Three popular themes quickly emerged: the need for national security, poor economic conditions under the Articles, and national pride.

As experienced practical politicians, however, the Federalist leaders also knew that they could control the support of clear majorities in a number of states. By taking advantage of that situation and using parliamentary skills, they set out to create momentum and a sense of inevitability to win over the undecided. Furthermore, although only nine states' assent was necessary for the Constitution to go into effect, the Framers and their associates understood that in reality all thirteen would have to endorse it for the union to succeed -- especially the large states of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Virginia, which had always led the way since colonial days. Particular attention would be devoted to winning those contests.

In contrast, the Anti-Federalists concentrated their discussion on domestic issues where the threat of possible misuse of power was clearest, and used rhetoric that was most often more emotional and visceral than the Federalists. At the heart of their arguments, also put forward in speeches, pamphlets and newspaper articles, were two basic objections. Anti-Federalists deeply feared the omission of a bill of rights to protect individual liberties, an element present in each of the state constitutions established since Independence. They also saw danger in the implication that the supremacy clause (Paragraph 2 of Article VI) would allow the central government to subsume the rights of the individual state governments.

Ratification became an issue on the very afternoon that the Constitutional Convention adjourned. Pennsylvania's Signers led by Thomas Fitzsimons and Benjamin Franklin, moved immediately to the second floor of the State House where Pennsylvania's singlechamber legislature was in session and requested permission to report. The next day they stated what had been accomplished, touching off arguments over the Constitution between the state's two existing political factions. Similar events would follow in each of the other states.

The first true battle, however, took place in New York City in Congress. Virginia's Richard Henry Lee made the first unsuccessful attempt to block the Framers' work. Lee wished to have Congress make a long list of changes. The following day a test vote (twelve for, New York against) indicated Congress' willingness to send the Constitution on to the state governments so that the required ratification conventions could be called. Finally on 28 September the Federalists made a concession to achieve unanimity by carefully wording the covering resolution in a way that avoided taking a stand for or against the Convention's work.

Pennsylvania's William Bingham had been nervously awaiting this news, for the current state legislature that favored the Constitution would adjourn on the 29th. Federalists wished to push approval through before opposition could form and have an impact on the October state elections. As soon as the vote was taken, he paid a special courier to race the news across New Jersey.

Actually, Pennsylvania's Federalists had already started on their own initiative. That very day George Clymer introduced a call for the state convention without waiting for Congress to act. A test vote indicated that the measure would pass by a comfortable margin. Anti-Federalists realized that although they were a minority, under the legislature's rules, the opposition fell one member short of the minimum needed for a quorum. They ended activity for the day by simply refusing to return from the normal afternoon recess ended. Bingham's messenger reached Philadelphia before the opening hour on the 29th, and the sergeant at arms was sent hunting for the missing individuals. A mob found two of them first and literally dragged them to the State House where they were seated against their will. The Federalists then quickly passed the necessary legislation and adjourned.

Outraged Anti-Federalists, charging that strong-arm tactics proved that the Constitution itself was a threat to liberties, mustered their strength for the elections, and with the publication of a series of letters under the pen name "Centinel" (probably Samuel Bryan) touched off the first of the press wars for popular support. These primarily pitted the Federalist *Pennsylvania Packet* against Eleazer Oswald, a former Continental Army artillery officer, and his *Independent Gazette*. They also sent news of their plight to other states, triggering similar campaigns, although seldom with either the deep personal attacks common in Pennsylvania nor with the balance of views, for nine out of ten editors across the nation gave their support to the Constitution.

Following elections that included minor riots, the Pennsylvania convention assembled on

Wednesday 21 November at Philadelphia's State House, giving the state the honor of being the first to start ratification discussions. Its sixty-nine members knew that the outcome was a foregone conclusion for the Federalists had rolled up a 2:1 majority during the elections, and under the leadership of James Wilson (the only Signer who was a member), Thomas McKean and Benjamin Rush attempted to push for a rapid vote. The Anti-Federalist leaders, men of deep commitment but relatively limited political experience, sought to stall in the hopes that something would turn up to reverse conditions. They mustered enough votes to drag matters out until 12 December, but not to change things. On that day, after tempers had flared and debating had degenerated nearly to the level of fisticuffs, the Pennsylvanians rejected an attempt by Robert Whitehill to adjourn so that fifteen amendments could be considered by the voters and then, on an identical vote, approved unconditional ratification 46-23. The following day the majority paraded to the city court house, accompanied by various public officials and the Philadelphia militia, and proclaimed the news to the people. Two more days were consumed with administrative matters, and after a rather blatant attempt to convince the rest of the nation to establish the federal district in eastern Pennsylvania, they adjourned.

Pennsylvania's rancorous convention marked an important Federalist triumph, bringing one of the four key states into the fold at the outset. It was a bruising experience, however, with the losing side continuing the fight for another year and working hard to galvanize opposition elsewhere. It also dragged out long enough to cost the state the honor of being the first to actually ratify -- that distinction went to nearby Delaware. Their recently elected legislature had opened its annual session on 24 October and received the Congress' resolution on that day, but, because of local problems of more immediate nature did not get around to approving a call for a ratification convention until 10 November.

Delaware also had rowdy elections, but they revolved around personalities rather than issues, and a strong consensus already existed when the approving body assembled in Dover on Monday, 3 December. Thanks to the state's strong concern for national government driven by its small size and to the careful groundwork laid by Signers Dickinson and George Read, only three days of debate were needed before all thirty delegates voted unanimously for adoption of the convention. The following day, 7 December, a formal signing ceremony was held. Delaware's Federalists then turned their attentions to the national stage, led by Dickinson's nine anonymous "Fabius" letters published in the spring.

Three other small states rapidly fell into line as the Federalists' plan to establish momentum took hold. New Jersey, along with Connecticut and New York, had been the state most closely involved in cooperating with George Washington's troops during the Revolution, and strongly supported the notion that only a central government could provide for national defense. The state also enjoyed several other conditions that made a quick Federalist victory possible: the Constitution's economic provisions provided them with a solution to their current problem of discriminatory tariffs imposed at the ports of Philadelphia and New York; no one stepped forward to try and organize any Anti-Federalist opposition; and the immense popularity of Governor William Livingston, a Signer and the leader of the Federalist forces. In nine short days of sessions in Trenton their thirty-eight member convention, chaired by Framer David Brearly, voted unanimously for the Constitution.

Georgia followed suit with a unanimous vote (26-0) on the last day of the month. Like New Jersey, the state had undergone invasion by British forces during the Revolution. On top of that, growth along its frontier raised the specter of Indian troubles, and local leaders knew that they could only cope with that eventuality with outside assistance. Their legislature had received the official news of the Constitution on 18 October and eight days later approved a convention, to be elected at the same time as the regular state officeholders. Unlike any other

state, however, the Georgians specified that no one could sit in the ratification convention if they held any state "position of honor or pay," thereby excluding most of their experienced leaders.

This decision had a modest impact, largely delaying a foregone conclusion. The convention was supposed to open on Christmas Day in Augusta, but did not achieve a quorum until 28 December. A day and half were consumed with procedural matters, one with a Sunday recess, and after a mere day and a half of discussion the vote to unconditionally approve came on 31 December. Ironically it then took two more days to work out the wording of the resolution so that Georgia is officially recognized as having ratified on 2 January 1788. The convention lingered three more days on administrative details before adjourning.

After one serious, if lopsided, contest and three easy votes, the focus turned to Connecticut. Here the issue was somewhat cloudier. The state had compiled an excellent reputation for supporting the Continental Army throughout the Revolution, but it was part of New England, where tradition and sentiment ran very strong in favor of direct participatory democracy exercised through the town meeting -- precisely the conditions that would predispose voters to take an Anti-Federalist stance. Fortunately for the Federalists, they enjoyed the support of most of the experienced governmental leaders in the state, headed by their wartime governor Jonathan Trumbull, now in retirement, and Samuel Huntington, an ex-president of Congress, who was the current governor. All ten of the state's newspapers also came out on the side of ratification, and Signers Roger Sherman ("A Farmer" and "A Countryman") and Oliver Ellsworth ("The Land-Holder") came home to lead the public education campaign.

Their ratification convention, by far the largest to date with nearly 200 members, assembled on Thursday, 4 January 1788, in Hartford's Capitol, but moved on the next day to the First Congregational Church which had heating. Six days of debate followed, with the overwhelming Federalist majority giving full consideration to the objections of the minority and answering them with reasoned speeches, a marked departure from the Pennsylvania precedent. On 9 January the vote took place and the 128 yeas signed their ratification instrument. Although the forty Anti-Federalists did not sign, they also left feeling far less upset than their brethren from the Keystone State. That technique of avoiding strong-arm tactics immediately became a central tenet of Federalist strategy as the campaign for ratification entered a new phase.

In each of the first five states to render a decision the Federalists had enjoyed commanding advantages. Widespread popular support already existed for the Constitution and existing state governmental bodies (either in session or in the process of being elected) allowed quick action. None of the remaining eight states promised similar easy victories. For these contests the Federalists relied heavily on their public education campaign to convince individual voters to support Federalist candidates for seats in the ratification convention. Once the conventions assembled, the Federalists tried to use superior organization, parliamentary skills, and leadership to offset numerical disadvantages, and to employ their nationwide network to gain leverage. By and large, they proved more adaptable than their opponents.

The highlight of the Federalists' educational program turned out to be a collection of eighty-five essays published under the pen name of "Publius." Organized by Alexander Hamilton as a cooperative effort* with James Madison and John Jay, they are now known collectively as *The Federalist* Papers and remain one of America's greatest works of political theory, even though they were intended merely as a point-by-point rebuttal of certain Anti-Federalist arguments. (* Hamilton is generally considered to be the author of fifty-one,

Madison of twenty-six (10, 14, 37-58, 62-63), and Jay of five (2-5, 64). Three others (18-20) appear to be the joint work of Hamilton and Madison.)

Massachusetts provided the first true test of the Constitution's popularity, and became the second key state to vote on ratification. Not only did it share in New England's traditional suspicion of central authority, but many voters harbored reservations about the manner in which the leaders of the emerging Federalist party had dealt with Shay's Rebellion. Anti-Federalist forces took heart from the fact that John Hancock, the popular newly-elected governor, carefully refrained from taking sides on the issue of ratification, and from Elbridge Gerry's vocal denunciation of the Constitution's defects. As a former member of the Philadelphia Convention, his words carried great weight. Heated arguments in the long town meetings* used for the election of ratification delegates seemed to indicate an Anti-Federalist trend. (* The election, for example, represented the first time that full slates of candidates were nominated in caucuses in Boston.) The fact that the convention would be the largest in any state, and in fact with roughly one delegate for every 1,000 eligible voters the election would be the most representative in the state's history, also seemed to work in the favor of those opposing the Constitution.

On 9 January 1788 the delegates, ultimately numbering 364, assembled in Boston. The fact that 46 of the 318 towns entitled to representation chose not to participate and the disparity in experience between the two sides' leaders provided the Federalists with early encouragement. Neither Samuel Adams nor John Hancock, the only two men of stature who could have organized the opposition, chose to assert themselves. On the other hand, the Federalists boasted two Signers, Nathaniel Gorham and Rufus King, ex-generals William Heath and Benjamin Lincoln, a former governor and three rising politicians (Theodore Sedgwick, Theophilus Parsons, and Fisher Ames). They quickly assessed the situation and, after acquiescing in Hancock's election as presiding officer and Chief Justice William Cushing as vice president, chose to follow Connecticut's tactical precedent.

The Federalists won an important parliamentary victory on the very first day, turning back an Anti-Federalist motion to adjourn and passing rules requiring detailed clause-by-clause discussions before any ratification vote could take place. For six days a week Cushing chaired a learned discussion of each and every word as the Federalists responded to each and every objection with concern and respect. Hancock stayed on the sidelines and tried to assess which course of action would turn out to be better for his political future, claiming that an attack of gout prevented him from carrying out his convention duties. During this period the Federalists determined that a crucial swing block of delegates objected essentially only to the omission of a bill of rights. On 23 January the Anti-Federalist leaders apparently realized that their position was slowly eroding but were unable to do anything, in part because Adams withheld his support.

The Federalists by this point had come to the conclusion that they would never be able to win the unconditional approval tendered in every convention to date, and they turned to the idea of a ratification instrument that included amendments *recommended* for implementation after the new government went into effect. These were not to be phrased in a way that would make the changes a *condition* for the state's assent, and therefore did not violate the spirit of the Framers' intent. They also realized that a motion to that effect would have to come from someone not already identified with their side if it was to appear a legitimate compromise. On 30 January they convinced Hancock to take his seat and on the following day he introduced nine amendments drawn up by the Federalists. It took another week to put the finishing touches on the plan, but finally on 6 February, after a round of conciliatory speeches, the modified ratification with Hancock's nine amendments passed by a vote of 187-168. The

wisdom of the Federalists' non-confrontational approach was immediately revealed when most of the Anti-Federalist leaders rose to indicate that they thought democratic processes had been followed and that they would now support the will of the majority, a marked departure from the example of Pennsylvania.

New Hampshire, another of the New England states, assembled its convention in Exeter on 13 February 1788. Like Connecticut and Massachusetts, the Granite State had also selected representatives in town meetings. Fortunately for the Federalists, both of the state's political factions, headed by Signer John Langdon and former general John Sullivan, supported ratification, and their combined experience and leadership easily offset the Anti-Federalists edge in raw numbers. Under the watchful eye of Sullivan, elected as the presiding officer on 14 February, seven days were consumed in a clause-by-clause discussion, a delaying tactic that worked to the Federalists' advantage, as did the repetition of Connecticut's tactic of reasoned debate and the impact of the Massachusetts ratification. Finally, on 22 February, the Federalists were able to swing enough votes to push through an adjournment. Although it initially appeared that this was a setback, the first check to a steady flow of ratifications, it actually marked an important victory for the forces in favor of the Constitution. A number of key delegates had been convinced by the arguments they heard to want to change their positions. Under New England political custom, however, they felt that they were bound to honor their towns' instructions on how to vote. The Federalists determined that a recess would allow them to return home and, with the assistance of a vigorous continuation of the public education campaign, persuade town meetings to alter those orders.

Before New Hampshire's convention could reconvene, two southern states joined the Federalist fold by wide margins. Maryland was the first, and its approval surprised and disheartened many Anti-Federalists. A large segment of the experienced leaders in the state had publicly come out against the Constitution, including Luther Martin and John F. Mercer who had been delegates in Philadelphia. Ironically, that early appearance of strength cost them dearly, for they became overconfident and failed to organize an effective campaign during the spring elections. Not only were the Anti-Federalists hopelessly defeated in the election, their leaders slowly trickled into Annapolis after the convention opened on 21 April 1788 and found that they had been outmaneuvered in the first parliamentary round.

The Anti-Federalists assumed that Maryland Federalists, like those in other states, would seek to have a lengthy discussion of the issues, and hoped to use this approach to drag things out until neighboring Virginia would begin its convention, which was expected to be controlled by their compatriots. To their chagrin the Federalists quickly took advantage of their better than 10:1 margin to push through rules of procedure calculated to force an early vote. On 26 April a belated try by the Anti-Federalists to introduce a list of twenty-eight amendments was rejected and, by a lopsided margin of 63-11, unencumbered ratification passed. Two more days were needed to complete the convention's business, including quashing a second attempt to introduce amendments.

Maryland would actually turn out to be something of an anomaly because it was the last state where the Federalists were able to win a clear-cut vote; in each of the others, more evenly balanced numbers would force the Constitution's supporters to compromise and follow the Massachusetts precedent of recommending amendments. South Carolina, with its convention meeting in solidly-Federalist Charleston on 12 May 1788 in a badly overcrowded City Hall, furnished the first example of why this approach was necessary. Three days were consumed with procedural matters, including the election of Governor Thomas Pinckney, a Continental Army veteran, to preside, before a detailed debate of each article of the Constitution began.

For nine days the Federalists carried out the same tactics of polite discussion that had proved successful elsewhere. Because local political issues left the western parts of the state suspicious of the Charleston region, Signers Charles Pinckney and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, cousins, and the other Federalist leaders concentrated on trying to answer specific objections and to draw up a list of recommended amendments that could swing enough votes to gain passage. An Anti-Federalist attempt to adjourn ended in failure on 21 May, and two days later a committee reported four proposed amendments designed to strengthen the rights of states in dealing with the central government (a number of additions offered from the floor, including a bill of rights, failed to gain majority support). The motion to ratify with the four amendments as recommendations to the national government then passed 149-73, although the convention lingered in session until 24 May on minor procedural matters.

June of 1788 turned out to be the key month in the ratification struggle. Three conventions were due to sit: Virginia on the 2d, New York on the 17th, and New Hampshire (returning from adjournment) a day later. South Carolina had increased the total of states approving the Constitution to eight; one more would put the document into effect. Even more significant, however, was the fact that the two remaining key states, Virginia and New York, were necessary to make the union viable, and the Anti-Federalists redoubled their efforts, secure in the knowledge that both were governed by popular men who had openly attacked the Constitution. Federalist leaders in each state made equal exertions, and established courier services between the three conventions in an effort to coordinate effectively.

The New Hampshire convention assembled last, but acted first. Thanks to the skill of the first session, Langdon and Sullivan arrived in Concord, the new meeting site, with enough votes in hand to render the verdict a foregone conclusion. On the third day of debate a bipartisan committee crafted a list of twelve proposed amendments. At that point the only real issue left was whether the convention would make them a condition for ratification, the Anti-Federalist position, or merely submit them as recommendations. The Federalists carried that point and a final vote at 1 P.M. on 21 June 1788, the hour being carefully noted in the journal to establish New Hampshire's claim to being the state that turned the Constitution into a reality.

Langdon and Sullivan immediately sent messengers hurrying south to Poughkeepsie and Richmond, assuming that since that nation's attention was focused on those states, the news would have a tremendous impact in the Federalists' favor. Ironically, other factors were far more important. Although very different in size, New York opting for a small convention while Virginia chose a large forum, and in tactical maneuvering, both wound up as debates between a handful of highly articulate spokesmen of the respective sides. The contrast demonstrates just how flexible and creative the Federalists were in carrying through their program, especially when the opposition not only enjoyed an enormous advantage, but could also match experienced and talented leaders (a situation that had not occurred in any contest to date).

Virginia's convention assembled in Richmond with a galaxy of talented men more evenly matched than anywhere else in the nation. The Anti-Federalists rallied behind popular former governor Patrick Henry and George Mason, who had refused to sign the Constitution (George Mason). Federalist leaders included James Madison, Henry Lee, Edmund Pendleton and George Wythe, and counted heavily on the offstage influence of Washington. More important, however, were those individuals who came to the Old Capitol with minds not yet locked into place, for their votes would provide one side or the other with the margin of victory. After electing Pendleton as presiding officer and, in an unusual move, Wythe as chairman of the committee of the whole, the two sides agreed to a lengthy line-by-line debate of the merits of

the document that would be conducted primarily in the freer forum of the committee. They also quickly found more expansive quarters in the "New Academy" building on Shockoe Hill.

Serious debating began on 4 June with the sudden revelation by Governor Edmund Randolph, who had refused to sign the Constitution on 17 September 1878, that he had now concluded that he had been wrong (a change of heart that infuriated Mason, who later compared the future Attorney General to Benedict Arnold). For three weeks the crowded spectator galleries were treated to unmatched rhetorical exchanges, with Henry's superb oratorical style appearing to be winning over the undecided more effectively and placing the Federalists on the defensive. On Monday, 23 June, the legislature opened its new session, placing a strain on many of the members of the convention who also held seats in that body. This fact, plus a Federalist assessment that they did not have enough votes to win outright ratification, caused a shift in tactics. Madison and his companions now tried to swing the convention around to the notion of following Massachusetts' idea of recommending amendments.

On the morning of 24 June the session began routinely enough. Pendleton graveled the body to order and then turned the chair over to the committee of the whole. But in a sudden departure from the normal procedures, he called upon Thomas Mathews rather than Wythe to preside. Mathews in turn recognized Wythe immediately, and he introduced a motion to consider a list of recommended amendments. A furious Henry immediately moved a substitute proposal to consider a list of conditional amendments. Randolph was ready with a telling response he immediately questioned whether Henry was prepared for the consequences if the new government chose not to accept conditional amendments, in effect asking if the Anti-Federalists wanted Virginia to secede from the nation. Henry eventually launched into an impassioned speech, but was forced to break off when a severe thunderstorm created so much noise that the convention had to adjourn.

On 25 June Attorney General James Innes, the best Federalist public speaker, finally was able to put in an appearance and delivered a major summation of the Federalist position, supporting the notion that the convention had nothing further to gain from prolonging debate, and that the Constitution's supporters were willing to back any amendments that did not violate the basic intent of the Framers. Henry then collapsed the last of the Anti-Federalists' hopes by conceding that Innes made a great deal of sense, and that perhaps it would be best to now focus effort on working to improve the Constitution from within its framework. After some further discussion the committee of the whole transformed itself back into formal session and Henry's old motion for conditional amendments was defeated 80-88 and the Wythe motion for recommended amendments passed 89-79. The convention finally adjourned on 27 June after conciliatory speeches and approving a covering letter to the ratification vote (without a roll call) that included a twenty-seven part bill of rights and twenty other amendments. News of New Hampshire's decision arrived in Richmond the following day.

If Virginia stands as the convention where rhetoric and weight of argument won over the votes needed to secure ratification, New York's equally impressive debate fell on the extreme opposite end of the spectrum. By the time its sixty-five delegates assembled in Poughkeepsie's court house, seven long months of intense public discussion had taken place. The voters had been given ample time to weigh the arguments of the Anti-Federalist writers such as "Cato" against Alexander Hamilton's "Caesar" letters and the "Publius" opus. They picked men whose minds were made up -- 46 Anti-Federalists led by Governor George Clinton, a former Continental Army general, and only 19 Federalists headed by Signer (and ex-aide to Washington) Hamilton.

Two days, 17 and 18 June, passed on procedural matters, including the selection of Clinton to preside, before the convention settled down to business. The Federalists were surprised when Clinton, who was hoping to hear that another state had voted against the Constitution first, agreed to allow a lengthy debate of each article before taking a vote. For the next month six Federalists and seven Anti-Federalists engaged in a verbal sparring match (primarily pitting Hamilton one-on-one against Melancthon Smith) without altering a single opinion. Not even the news of New Hampshire's ratification which arrived on 25 June shook the Anti-Federalist ranks. On the other hand, it did subtly alter the essence of the debate, for now the question became one of whether New York would join the union, not if the union would take place. About noon on 2 July William S. Livingston, a Federalist and former Continental Army officer, arrived in Poughkeepsie after riding the 82 miles from New York City in seven and a half hours. He brought word that Virginia had ratified. That news removed all tension from the air, and left New York's Anti-Federalists basically isolated, for only North Carolina and tiny Rhode Island also remained outside the fold. Two days later, on the anniversary of Independence, the Federalists introduced a new set of tactics designed to take advantage of the change in conditions. They now refused to debate in an effort to speed the proceedings up. To the Anti-Federalists, the only true point left to consider was what form New York's ratification would take, for they had no intention of trying to keep the state out of the union. Coming up with an acceptable formula kept matters hanging until 23 July when Smith took the floor to indicate that he had never wanted outright rejection of the Constitution, but rather had sought to remedy its defects, and had finally come to believe that the Federalists were sincere in offering to push amendments after the document went into effect. A number of other former Anti-Federalist leaders followed suit, and a hasty test vote indicated that the compromise position held a slim 31-29 margin. After additional wordsmithing, the committee of the whole voted on 25 July to pass a ratification instrument 31-28, and on Saturday the 26th the full convention balloted 30-27. The Federalists then gave their assent to a unanimous vote to send a circular letter to every state to suggest a second national convention to deal with the amendment process, and adjourned.

At this point only two states remained outside the fold, both with particular local political situations that contributed to a lack of popular support for the Constitution. Neither would ratify before the new government opened for business, and both would take several tries to complete action. North Carolina had a very strong traditional antagonism between its sections, and was fragmented into a multitude of ethnic, cultural and religious groups, all busily contending for a share of power. Shortly after voting to send delegates to Philadelphia in 1787, the balance of power swung to a new alliance of politicians, heavily influenced by western counties. They were far less interested in national issues, and felt no compelling reason to change. Therefore, when the state legislature voted on 6 December 1787 to have a ratification convention, it deliberately chose a date of 21 July 1788 for its opening to stall for time.

The first of North Carolina's two distinct conventions opened for business in Hillsboro on schedule, knowing that the Constitution had already been approved by ten states. Therefore, the state simply had to choose between participating in the union or standing aside. Although Governor Samuel Johnston was accorded the honor of presiding, Anti-Federalist Willie Jones had complete control of the majority of votes and the practical political skills to keep those votes in line. Badly outnumbered, the Federalists relied heavily on William R. Davie, the only delegate who had been in Philadelphia, to carry their case on its logical merits in the face of Anti-Federalist criticism. Their basic approach was to try to paint the Anti-Federalists as advocates of a plan to make North Carolina an independent country. After seven days of this, Jones played his trump card. He cited Thomas Jefferson's views from Paris, where he was serving as a diplomat, that advocated having nine states ratify and four disapprove as a way to

force a second convention, which would make the desired amendments, and then proceeded to win approval of a version of Virginia's list of amendments, with some minor additions. Once having shepherded this motion through by a vote of 184-84, to make a point, he then introduced a second proposal to adjourn without either ratifying or rejecting the Constitution which also passed. After minor local matters, including a resolution to move the state capital to Raleigh, the convention dissolved itself on 4 August.

On 3 November Governor Johnston delivered his opening day speech to the newly-elected state legislature. He warned them that the Federal government had in fact been formed, and that Congress was in the process of passing legislature that affected North Carolina without having North Carolinians present in either chamber. Jones, from a position in the state senate, tried to block Federalist efforts to order a new convention, but was unsuccessful. After a second set of elections, making North Carolina the only state to hold two distinct ratification conventions, the new body assembled in Fayetteville on 16 November 1789. Only 40% of this body had sat in the Hillsboro one, with the Federalists scoring substantial gains this time around by running better candidates, gathering western support because of threatened Indian troubles, and being able to point to the actions of the national government to defuse old Anti-Federalists fears -- George Washington's administration had turned out to be very acceptable to most North Carolinians, while Madison was already at work to push a bill of rights through. This time only three real days of debate were needed to produce a 194-77 vote in favor of ratification on 21 November, although the convention remained in session until the 23d to complete minor procedural issues.

Rhode Island, the last of the original thirteen states to come into the fold, possessed an even more locally-oriented government than her New England neighbors, and, like North Carolina, had a history of opposing aggrandizements to central authority dating to the Revolution. On top of that situation, the issue of paper currency had been a very significant one in state politics, with the majority party being particularly concerned that the Constitution prohibited such actions. Accordingly, the state legislature, based on instructions its members received at town meetings, voted eleven times between February 1788 and January 1790 not to call a ratification convention.

Finally the financial pressures exerted by the federal government persuaded Governor John Collins to cast a tie-breaking vote (a move which robbed him of renomination). The members assembled in South Kingstown on schedule on 1 March 1790 and spent six days dealing not only with the Constitution, but the twelve-part Bill of Rights drawn up by Madison and already approved by Congress and sent to the states. The delegates came up with another eighteen potential amendments. On 6 March, over vigorous objections from the Federalist minority, they decided to adjourn until May to allow the annual April town meeting to mull things over some more. On 24 May the same individuals reassembled and came face-to-face with the ultimate Federalist trump card. Providence, the largest economic center in the state, had officially voted in town meeting to secede from Rhode Island if the Constitution was not ratified. Newport, the other port, probably would do the same. For five days the members argued back and forth. Finally, on Saturday, 29 May 1790, by the narrowest of margins (34-32, with three known Anti-Federalists deliberately absenting themselves) the last of the states gave its assent, also approving eleven of Madison's amendments and recommending a further twenty-one.

In a sense the culminating event of the ratification drive actually took place almost two years earlier on 23 July 1788 in New York City, before the final three states had ratified. The city Federalist leaders, like those in most of the other states, wanted to stage a victory celebration, but chose not to celebrate their own state's approval (still three days in the future).

Instead, as befitting the national capital, they devoted a month to intricate preparations acclaiming New Hampshire's action putting the document into effect. The highlight of the day-long festivities involved 5,000 people (a quarter of the city's population) in a vast parade that stretched over a mile and a half. The luncheon seated 6,000 in an extensive pavilion designed by former Continental Army Major Pierre L'Enfant who would later design the plan for the District of Columbia. New York's behavior conveyed the festive and optimistic outlook with which the nation would move forward into a new era.

The last congress under the Articles of Confederation adjourned in New York City on 10 October 1788. The Constitution's First Congress convened in the same location on Wednesday, 4 March 1789, one month after the Electoral College had cast its ballots unanimously for Washington. He and Vice President John Adams took their oaths of office on the balcony of Federal Hall there on 30 April.

Just as Soldier-Statesmen played a dominant role in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, so too did they win the ratification battles of 1787-90. In fact, this body of men would contribute significantly to state and national government for over two decades, finally turning over the reins of power to a younger generation during the War of 1812. Their view of their actions and their sense of responsibility as national leaders was best summed up by Charles Pinckney, South Carolina's Signer and a veteran of militia active duty during the Revolution, during his state's ratification convention:

> "Let it be, therefore, our boast -- that we have already taught some of the oldest and wisest nations to explore their rights as men, and let it be our prayer that the effects of the Revolution may never cease to operate, until they have unshackled all the nations that have firmness to resist the fetters of despotism."

While innumerable factors came into play in determining the views of nearly 2,000 delegates to the ratification conventions, and still more in the case of the individual citizens who voted for those delegates, ultimately a majority came to the decision that the Constitution promised greater benefits than it posed dangers. They rejected the fears of the Anti-Federalists and decided to trust in Washington and his compatriots, especially after the promise had been made to immediately employ the amending process to correct the significant omission of a bill of rights. In that sense, the nation is the beneficiary of the Framers' original wisdom in demanding that their handiwork be placed directly before the people in whose name they had presumed to speak. The ratification process that was spelled out in Philadelphia achieved the broad consensus the fifty-five convention delegates had known would be required to make their bold experiment work. The opposition element played a key role in articulating the understandings and explanations that made the consensus possible, and are directly responsible for the Bill of Rights, so important to every succeeding American's life.

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STATE CONVENTIONS FOR THE RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

State	Dates of Convention	Site of Convention	Presiding Officer	Date of Vote	For-Against
DELAWARE	2-7 Dec 1787	Dover	*James Latimer	6 Dec 1787	30-0
PENNSYLVANIA	21 Nov-14 Dec 1787	Philadelphia	Frederick A.C. Muhlenberg	12 Dec 1787	46-23
NEW JERSEY	11-18 Dec 1787	Trenton	*David Brearly	18 Dec 1787	38-0
GEORGIA	25 Dec 1787 - 5 Jan 1788	Augusta	John Wereat	**31 Dec 1787	26-0
CONNECTICUT	4-9 Jan 1788	Hartford	Matthew Grisworld	9 Jan 1788	128-40
MASSACHUSETTS	9 Jan-7 Feb 1788	Boston	*John Hancock	6 Feb 1788	187-168
MARYLAND	21-19 Apr 1788	Annapolis	George Plater	26 Apr 1788	63-11
SOUTH CAROLINA	12-23 May 1788	Charleston	*Thomas Pinckney	23 May 1788	149-73
NEW HAMPSHIRE	13-22 Feb 1788	Exeter	*John Sullivan	22 Feb 1788	(56-51[1])
	18-21 Jun 1788	Concord	*John Sullivan	21 Jun 1788	57-47
VIRGINIA	2-27 Jun 1788	Richmond	Edmund Pendleton	26 Jul 1788	89-79
NEW YORK	17 Jun - 26 Jul 1788	Poughkeepsie	*George Clinton	26 Jul 1788	30-27
NORTH CAROLINA	21 Jul - 2 Aug 1788	Hillsboro	Samuel Johnston	2 Aug 1788	(84-184[2])
	16-23 Nov 1789	Fayetteville	Samuel Johnston	21 Nov 1789	194-77
RHODE ISLAND	1-6 Mar 1790	South Kingston	Daniel Owen	6 Mar 1790	(28-41[3])
	24-29 May 1790	South Kingston	Daniel Owen	29 May 1790	34-32

* Veteran of active military service in the Revolution.

** Georgia's ratification is officially recognized on 2 January 1788 since it took days after the vote date to prepare the resolution. In the case of the other twelve dates, the date of the vote is the date of official ratification.

1 Vote taken on motion to adjourn (Federalist position).

2 Vote taken on motion to neither ratify nor reject (Anti-Federalist position).

3 Vote taken on motion to adjourn (Anti-Federalist position).

CHAPTER III

Ratification Articles

NOT FINISHED YET

We had no Constitution on September 18, 1787 -- a document was all we possessed. And this document was as dry as the parchment on which it was written. What was needed to give it life was the people's assent -- their imprimatur. The convention having concluded its work, the new, untried, as yet unknown Constitution was, on September 18th, presented to the country for ratification by special ratifying conventions. This was to be no easy task, but it was to be the greatest democratic exercise of our country's founding. The ratifying conventions, as historian Linda Kerber pointed out, were far more democratic than the state legislatures and far more democratic than the Convention itself, most of whose delegates would have qualified for the "gentry" class.

We do a grave disservice to our country if we overlook the ratification process and declare the Constitution a reality in September 1787. Some people, surfeited by the Statue of Liberty celebration and the observance of the bicentennial of the framing of the Constitution, may think we are on historical "overload" and suggest that we not commemorate the bicentennial of the ratification debates. I beg to differ: I welcome the opportunity to explore the deep and searching discussions of political science which followed the signing of the Constitution in Philadelphia. These debates which followed the presentation of a new Constitution to the American public were the most penetrating and widespread since those of the English Civil War in the 1640's.

Compared to the debates during the English Civil War and during the French Revolution to come, however, the Federalist - Anti-Federalist debates were mannerly, polite, and managed within the existing political structures. The arguments took place both in the ratifying conventions and in the newspapers. The most famous writings in favor of the Constitution appeared under the pseudonym, "Publius," and are now known as *The Federalist* Papers, yet there were many Anti-Federalist articles embracing positions against the Constitution which were both trenchant and pointed.

During the debates, no blood was shed, no guillotine erected, no armies clashed on a battlefield. Yet the differences between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists were real and the engagement hard fought. The importance of the encounter gives substance to the words of John Quincy Adams: The American Revolution, he wrote, "was a work of thirteen years ... The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are part of one consistent whole, founded upon one and the same theory of government." If we count thirteen years from 1776, we arrive at 1789, when our new government was fully established, not 1787, when the Constitution was written.

As the country turns its attention to the aftermath of the Constitutional Convention -- the ratification process -- my hope is that Americans will once again listen attentively to both sides of the argument. We should try to understand both the Federalist and the Anti-Federalist view. This historical balance is one of the great advantages which can accrue from historical celebrations.

At the time of victory, the winners trumpet their advantage; the losers' views are lost in the hurrahs. Shortly after a war or a great political upheaval, there is little time and less inclination for a calm, judicious evaluation of the event. For the winner, all roads lead to victory and paths not taken -- discarded options, opportunities missed -- are firmly put aside. Hopefully, over centuries, passions can cool; discussions can produce more light than heat; a balance

between opposing views, impossible at the time of the event, can be restored, and time can do its healing work. The "losers" have their chance to be heard with attention and with scholarly regard. The "winners" can admit to failings and errors of judgment which in the heat of the event were never brought to light.

To respect and pay attention to the arguments put forward by the Anti-Federalists is not always easy. We know the outcome from our vantage point, two hundred years after the event. We know that the Constitution fashioned in Philadelphia has endured, that it has been and is durable yet resilient, energetic yet restrained. But if we think ourselves back into the year 1788 when the battle of ratification was waged, we know nothing of the future. We know only that a convention established "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation" and delivered to the people for their acceptance or rejection a radically new Constitution, establishing a greatly strengthened central government with revolutionary principles untried in the United States: separation of powers, checks and balances, and federalism.

It was in the end a very close call for ratification, and those who warned, hesitated, and cautioned were men of stature, of experience, and of substance: Patrick Henry, George Mason, Elbridge Gerry, George Clinton, and others. These men were not cowardly, they were not nay-sayers; theirs was not a constricted view which prevented them from seeing the value of the proposed Constitution. Patrick Henry thundered in the Virginia debates, "Who authorizes gentlemen to speak the language of We, the people, instead of We, the states? ... The people gave them no power to use their name." To the Anti-Federalists, the states and the powers vested in them were of overriding importance. In the end, when the arguments were fully understood, theirs proved to be the weaker position. Further, because they were politically fragmented, were unable to put forward a single coherent view, were lacking the organization of the Federalists, and presented arguments which were less persuasive, they lost the battle against ratification of the new Constitution.

But the Anti-Federalists fought for aspects of government which we still hold dear today: states' rights, identification with localities, and a very healthy fear of unrestrained power in the national government. Ultimately it was the warnings, their hesitancies, and their unwillingness to vote an unambiguous "yes" for the Constitution which produced our Bill of Rights. Although the Bill of Rights, as we know it today, turned more on the individuals' rights than on the states' rights as the Anti-Federalists wished, it was their insistence that forced Madison to author and push through our Bill of Rights. To the Anti-Federalists we owe the enumeration of our basic rights without which, I think we today would all admit, our Constitution and our lives would be very much the poorer. In the end they forced the Bill of Rights on unreceptive Federalists -- on towering figures like James Madison and James Wilson. A Bill of Rights was unnecessary, the Federalists claimed, because the Constitution gave the central government only delegated powers and left all other powers to the states. Why not then, asked Patrick Henry, make these rights specific -- "would it," he asked, "have taken too much paper?"

The Federalists may have given us the Constitution, but the Anti-Federalists gave us our Bill of Rights. Both sides deserve our attention and our gratitude. I hope that throughout this bicentennial of ratification, discussions will clarify the position of the Anti-Federalists for millions of citizens and create a new respect for the value of opposition. Certainly George Washington well understood the importance of his Anti-Federalist adversaries. He wrote:

> "Upon the whole, I doubt whether the opposition to the Constitution will not ultimately be productive of more good than evil; it has called forth, in its defence, abilities which would not

perhaps have been otherwise exerted, that have thrown new light upon the science of Government, they have given the rights of man a full and fair discussion, and explained them in so clear and forcible a manner as cannot fail to make a lasting impression ..."

Respect for opposition is as important in 1987 as it was in 1788. If we give full attention to the great ratification debates, we will undoubtedly sharpen our own skills in political science. It is a happy coincidence that 1988 is also an election year. We need our political skills not only to choose worthy candidates, but to hold the nominees to the highest standards of character, devotion to duty, love of country, and statesmanship. We are called upon to do this by the very form of government the Founders gave us -- a republic.

Asked by a citizen what kind of government the Convention had proposed for the country, Franklin replied, "A republic -- if you can keep it." His reply should give us pause, because Franklin was speaking metaphorically to us in 1988 as well as to the United States in 1788. To paraphrase Marshall McLuhan, we are not passengers on this voyage of the United States republic, we are the crew. You and I. On December 7, 1787, when Delaware's delegates ratified the Constitution, they stated that they did so "fully, freely & entirely." As members of the crew we must, in the same spirit as Delaware's delegates, enter into and understand the ratification debates of 1788 and the political debates of 1988 (no matter from which side), and thereby be worthy of the republic we inherited. From those to whom much is given, much is expected.

1988 provides us all with the opportunity to affirm and assent to what was done on our behalf in 1788. We cannot go back 200 years and sit in the ratifying conventions ourselves, but we can ally ourselves with what was done for us. We can cast our "aye" for the Constitution of 1787 and for the Constitution of 1987. I suggest there is no more important task and none more worthy of the great bicentennial in which we have been fortunate to participate than for us to hold, cherish, understand, and, in Franklin's phrase, to "keep" the great republic of the United States.

Printed courtesy of: Dr. Joan R. Challinor, Research Associate, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560

THE SPIRIT OF 1788:
RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

In 1788, Americans blasted one another with words, but not with muskets. The struggle over ratification occasioned fierce political contention of all sorts, from the loftiest debate to the most scurrilous invective, but it did not occasion bloodshed. The American political system, inviting the free expression of diverse convictions and views, had its first national trial. And it worked. Rather than trying to obliterate the opposition, Federalists absorbed a good deal of Anti-Federalists' energy and wisdom by adding their own support to a bill of rights.

Political differences did not evaporate thereafter, but for a good many years they did not shatter the Union either. The Constitution provided structures that, again and again, contained the clashing of deeply divergent interests. These structures have provided a large measure of liberty, and they have secured domestic peace -- it not exactly tranquility -- for the best part of two centuries.

The 200th anniversary of ratification should stimulate and inform discussion about issues that are critical to the functioning of democratic government. Such discussion is always timely, especially since some historians claim that the reverence ordinary Americans feel for the Constitution is matched only by their ignorance of it. Drawing upon an expanded understanding of both Federalist and Anti-Federalist positions, and listening more closely to the voices of the state leaders who fought the ratification and statehood battles, we can now lay the groundwork for a clearer interpretation of the states' role in the achievement of the federal Constitution.

If many Americans retain a notion of the origins of our national government, it is often that of the framers -- made of marble rather than of flesh and blood -- stepping down from the heights of Olympus to present a passive and grateful populace with the fruits of their wisdom. The historical inaccuracy of this image is all the more dangerous since it entails a serious distortion of the democratic process as well as of the American past.

When James Madison spoke of the people as "the fountain of all power," he was speaking of fact as well as theory. In 1788, the people of the thirteen states were not passive. They were deeply embroiled in an extraordinary national debate over the direction the country was to take, and deeply committed to assuring themselves that the independence for which they had fought so hard a war was going to be safeguarded, not betrayed. They were also committed to guarantee state autonomy and personal freedoms in the new nation. They and their delegate representatives did not take the Framers' wisdom on faith. They challenged the document framed in Philadelphia, and where they found it wanting, they demanded changes. In this sense at least, the Anti-Federalists won a great victory.

As American citizens today, we have rights and responsibilities not all that different from those of our 18th century predecessors. Re-examining the ratification and statehood process in the evolution of our Constitutional system can help us understand the continuing, balancing need to "preserve the constitutional equilibrium between the General and State Governments," as Alexander Hamilton put it. Some of our current state political leaders, for instance, have vowed to use the Bicentennial to address the "drastic erosion of basic state authority" and "drastic overcentralization of power in Washington" which has taken us so far from the federalist structure envisioned in Philadelphia.

The ratification debate and process also reminds us of what we were meant to expect from our government -- and what we must expect from ourselves if we are to sustain our democratic government into its third century. Our right to give or withhold consent, to elect representatives to speak for us, and to participate broadly, actively and fundamentally in the process of government at all levels remains our most precious inheritance of 1787 and 1788.

Reprinted from *The People Consent: Revisiting the Ratification of the United States Constitution*, Courtesy of Edith R. Wilson & J. Goldman, New York, NY, 1987.

This excerpt is from a monograph produced for "A Ratification Celebration," the commemoration of the Constitution Bicentennial sponsored by Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc.

THE WAR OF WORDS:
RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

> "It ... seems to have been reserved to the people of this country ... to decide ... whether societies of men are really capable or not, of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend, for their political constitutions, on accident and force."
> (Alexander Hamilton, *The Federalist No. 1*)

Great as the struggle was to frame the Constitution in 1787, the fullest exposition of its political theory did not come until 1788. The debate over ratification inspired the greatest outpouring of political discourse America has ever produced. Federalists and Anti-Federalists flooded the nation with pamphlets and articles under such symbolic pseudonyms as Agrippa, Brutus, Centinel, a Federal Farmer, an American Citizen, Americanus, Countryman and Landholder. If, in Alexander Hamilton's words, Americans were seeking to establish good government through "reflection and choice" -- that is, through reason -- then the moment was at hand for a flood of reasoned appeals.

Far and away the greatest contribution to the war of words was the series of eighty-five essays that Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay composed for publication in New York newspapers under the title of *The Federalist*. Though it is not certain that these essays swayed so much as a single vote in the ratifying conventions in New York or elsewhere, *The Federalist* was, in Thomas Jefferson's view, "the best commentary on the principles of government which ever was written." It remains invaluable to anyone seeking a better understanding of what the Constitution was meant to accomplish, from the humblest student to the justices of the Supreme Court.

Under the pseudonym "Publius," the three authors set out to reassure the public that the Constitution would help restore prosperity to a country wracked by economic depression, that it was truly republican and not covertly monarchist in drift, that only a strong federal government could truly resolve sectional differences and that "the (state) governments ... will retain their due authority and activity" within relation to the strengthened union.

It was James Madison, in the closely reasoned *The Federalist No. 10*, who made the classic case for the advantages of large republics over small ones. "The influence of factious leaders may kindle a flame within their particular States, but will be unable to spread a general conflagration through the other States: a religious sect, may degenerate into a political faction in a part of the Confederacy; but the variety of sects dispersed over the entire face of it, must secure the national Councils against any danger from that source: a rage for paper money, for an abolition of debts, for an equal division of property, or for any other improper or wicked project, will be less apt to pervade the whole body of the Union, than a particular member of it; in the same proportion as such a malady is more likely to taint a particular country or district, than an entire State."

The Anti-Federalist case had its share of eloquence as well -- particularly in Virginia, where Patrick Henry provided the strongest leadership Anti-Federalists were to muster anywhere in the country. Henry's speeches in the ratifying convention ran as much as seven hours at a stretch, and when not harping on the threat to Virginia's sovereignty, they revivified the cause of liberty.

"The first thing I have at heart is American liberty," thundered Henry, "the second thing is American Union. The rights of conscience, trial by jury, liberty of the press, all your immunities and franchises, all pretensions to human rights and privileges, are rendered insecure, if not lost, by this change so loudly talked of by some, and inconsiderately by others."

"Is this same relinquishment of rights worthy of freemen? Is it worthy of that manly fortitude that ought to characterize republicans: It is said eight States have adopted this plan. I declare that if twelve States and a half had adopted it, I would with manly firmness, and in spite of an erring world, reject it. You are not to inquire how your trade may be increased, nor how you are to become a great and powerful people, but how your liberties can be secured; for liberty ought to be the direct end of your Government."

Though Henry's final blasts at the Convention were accompanied by a violent thunderstorm outdoors, his oratorical power could not win the day. A majority of the delegates had decided their liberties and their future were secure under the Constitution, though they held firmly to the promise of the bill of rights to be added to it.

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IMPORT OF RATIFICATION ARGUMENTS

This year marks the 200th anniversary of the ratification of the Constitution.

Reading history books makes it seem that the process was a foregone conclusion. In reality, the fight for the Constitution was a close and often bitter struggle.

This is something to be kept in mind as the Department of Defense, along with rest of the nation, celebrates and studies the debates and compromises that attended the ratification of the Constitution.

When the Framers presented the Constitution to the nation, there was a section on how it would be ratified. Even this was open to debate.

"When the Framers presented the Constitution to Congress, it was not greeted with universal joy," said Dr. Robert Wright, the resident expert on the Constitution at the Army Center of Military History in Washington.

"There was some debate as to whether it should even be presented."

The argument first was that the Framers of the Constitution had overstepped their bounds. The Congress had charged them to amend the Articles of Confederation, not write a completely new document. Secondly, the argument was that Congress was the instrument for ratification. Who had ever heard of a popular plebiscite? This was, after all, years before such an idea gained currency.

"They eventually decided to present the Constitution to the states," Wright said.

Those opposed to the Constitution still thought they had done well. According to Wright, had the Constitution been voted on in September 1787, it would likely have been soundly defeated.

"This was where the political acumen of the Framers and their credibility with the people came into play," Wright said.

There was a split on the issue.

On the more conservative side, the Federalists favored the Constitution as written. The Anti-Federalists represented the "more extreme" side and opposed the Constitution unless it was severely revised.

"The parties were not divided by the fact that the government needed to be changed, just in how it should be divided," Wright said. "Both sides were concerned about protecting liberty. After all, they had just fought a war to protect that.

"The Federalists believed there were enough checks and balances in the Constitution to protect liberty while the Anti-Federalists felt specific liberties needed to be written into the Constitution before it should be ratified," he added.

The Federalists launched a massive public education effort, highlighted by *The Federalist* Papers" penned by John Jay, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison.

They also moved politically to attack the Anti-Federalists.

"The Federalists were quick to capitalize on the negative connotations of the Anti-Federalists. They were against something and had nothing to present in its place. It was sort of the 18th century version of the 'when did you stop beating your wife' question," Wright said.

The Federalists also moved quickly to get momentum on their side. Before the end of 1787, Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey ratified the Constitution. Georgia and Connecticut followed in January. Those five were in the Federalist camp. Then came the big test.

Massachusetts would be the first state to vote on the Constitution in which the Federalists had not stacked the deck.

Federalist leaders perceived a genuine concern on the part of the Anti-Federalists over the Constitution and proposed a deal.

"The lack of a Bill of Rights was specifically the thing that concerned the Anti-Federalists,"

Wright said. "The Federalists proposed ratifying the Constitution as it was and then adding a Bill of Rights as the first order of business under the new Constitution."

This deal gained enough votes so Massachusetts ratified the Constitution on February 6, 1788.

"With the exception of Maryland, which ratified the Constitution in April 1788, the rest of the states ratified the Constitution under this deal," Wright said.

The document was placed in force when New Hampshire -- the ninth state -- ratified it on June 21, 1788.

"The only issue left after that was whether a state wanted to be in the United States or not," said Wright.

Virginia and New York ratified in June and July 1788. North Carolina ratified the Constitution in November 1789 and Rhode Island ratified on May 29, 1790.

"Coming up with the Constitution was only half the fight," Wright said. "Selling the document to the country was a major feat. Today the Anti-Federalists have a bad reputation because people believe they were simply against the Constitution. We should be very thankful to them. Without the Anti-Federalist effort we would not have our Bill of Rights."

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CHAPTER IV

Three Ratification Lessons and Teaching Guides

LESSON PLAN 1

What conflicting opinions did the Framers have about the completed Constitution?

Purpose of Lesson 1

This lesson describes conflicting points of view of leading Framers about the Constitution. Most of the delegates argued for the adoption of the Constitution, though many had some reservations about it. The reservations of a few were so severe that they refused to sign the document. The position of one of these, George Mason, is explained in detail.

When you complete this lesson, you should be able to explain the position he took and give arguments in support of and in opposition to each of his major criticisms of the Constitution.

Framers for and against the Constitution

The following remarks were made by two of the Framers on the last day of the convention. One of these Framers signed the Constitution; the other did not. What do these comments tell you about the differences of opinion among the Framers concerning the Constitution they had developed and the problems they thought might arise in getting it approved?

> ... every member (of the convention) should sign. A few characters of consequence, by opposing or even refusing to sign the Constitution, might do infinite mischief.... No man's ideas were more remote from the plan than (mine are) known to be; but is it possible to deliberate between anarchy ... on one side, and the chance of good to be expected from the plan on the other?
>
> (Alexander Hamilton.)

> ... a Civil war may result from the present crisis.... In Massachusetts ... there are two parties, one devoted to Democracy, the worst ... of all political evils, the other as violent in the opposite extreme.... for this and other reasons ... the plan should have been proposed in a more mediating shape.
>
> (Elbridge Gerry, 1744-1814, signer of the Declaration of Independence and 5th vice president of the United States.)

You can see from the opinions of the above writers that they must have expected strong opposition to the ratification of the Constitution. In the final weeks of the Convention, the only thing left to do was to put the plan they had agreed upon in written form. Accomplishing this meant getting agreement about how each section should be worded.

The delegates did not leave the convention thinking they had created a perfect government. The four months they had spent putting it together had been filled with strong disagreements. Some had walked out of the convention. Others refused to sign the finished document.

The government created by the Constitution was a great experiment in democracy. The delegates had used some old ideas about good government, such as *representation*, and *separation of powers*, and *checks and balances*. They had also developed some new ones, such as the electoral college. They had agreed on several important compromises in order to create a plan that a majority would accept.

Supporters and critics

This lesson focuses on the opinions of three of the delegates. Benjamin Franklin argued in support of the Constitution. George Mason argued against it. He was one of the three delegates remaining until the end of the convention who refused to sign the document. The final passage from James Madison's notes on the debates is also included. Read these selections and be prepared to answer the questions that follow.

Franklin's speech on the last day of the convention, September 17, 1787

The following speech was read by James Wilson, a fellow delegate from Pennsylvania, because Franklin's age and illness made him too weak to deliver it himself.

> I confess that there are several parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve ... (But) the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment, and to pay more respect to the judgment of others.... In these sentiments ... I agree with this Constitution with all its faults, if they are such; because I think a general Government necessary for us ... (and) I doubt ... whether any other Convention we can obtain, may be able to make a better Constitution. For when you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinions, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected? It therefore astonishes me ... to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does.... Thus I consent ... to this Constitution because I expect no better, and because I am not sure, that it is not the best ... If every one of us in returning to our Constituents were to report the objections he has had to it ... we might prevent its being generally received, and thereby lose all the salutary effects and great advantages resulting naturally in our favor among foreign Nations as well as among ourselves, from a real or apparent unanimity.... On the whole ... I cannot help expressing a wish every member of the Convention who may still have objections to it, would with me, on this occasion doubt a little of his own infallibility, and to make manifest our unanimity put his name to this instrument.

George Mason's objections to the Constitution

Less than a week before the convention ended, George Mason, the author of the Virginia Bill of Rights, wrote a list of objections on his copy of the draft of the Constitution. Some of the most important are set forth below.

1. The way members of the Senate are selected means they are not representatives of the people or answerable to them. They have great powers such as the right to approve the appointment of ambassadors and treaties recommended by the president, as well as the power to try the president and other members of government in cases of impeachment. These powers place the senators in such close connection with the president that together they will destroy any balance in the government and do whatever they please with the rights and liberties of the people.

2. The national judicial branch has been given so much power that it can destroy the judicial branches of the state governments by overruling them. If this were to happen and the only courts available were the federal courts, most people would not be able to afford to have their cases heard in these courts, and rich people would have an advantage that would enable them to oppress and ruin the poor.

3. The Constitution does not provide for a group of legislators to serve as advisers to the president. Such advisers have always been included in any safe and regular government. As a result, the president will not get proper advice, and will usually be advised by flattering and obedient favorites; or he will become a tool of the Senate.

4. The president of the United States has the unlimited power to grant pardons for treason. He may sometime use this power to protect people from punishment whom he has secretly encouraged to commit a crime, and in this way he can prevent the discovery of his own guilt.

5. The Constitution says that all treaties are the supreme law of the land. Since they can be made by the president with the approval of the Senate, together they have an exclusive legislative power in this area. This means they can act without the approval of the House of Representatives, the other branch of the legislature which is directly answerable to the people.

6. The Constitution only requires a majority vote in Congress to make all commercial and navigation laws instead of a two-thirds vote. But the economic interests of the five southern states are totally different from those of the eight northern states which have a majority of representatives in Congress. Requiring only a majority vote means Congress may make laws that will favor the merchants of the northern and eastern states at the expense of the agricultural interests of the southern states. This could ruin the economy of the southern states and leave people in poverty.

7. Since the Constitution gives Congress the power to make any laws it thinks are "necessary and proper" to carry out its responsibilities, there is no adequate limitation upon its powers. Congress could grant monopolies in trade and commerce, create new crimes, inflict unusual and severe punishments, and extend its powers as far as it wants. As a result, the powers of the state legislatures could be taken from them and Congress could dominate the entire nation.

George Mason had also made other criticisms of the Constitution during the convention. Some of them were accepted and some resulted in changes made after the convention. One of

the most notable of his criticisms was that the Constitution did not contain a bill of rights.

Madison's last entry in his notes on the Constitution

The final entry that James Madison made in his notes on the convention describes the scene as the delegates were signing the document that they hoped would become the Constitution of the United States.

> Whilst the last members were signing it, (Doctor) Franklin looking towards the President's Chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him, that Painters had found it difficult to distinguish in their art a rising from a setting sun. (Franklin said) "I have often in the course of the Session looked at that behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting: But now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

Reviewing and using the lesson

1. Describe Benjamin Franklin's attitude toward the Constitution. What reasons did he give for his view?

2. Explain each of George Mason's objections to the Constitution.

3. Select one of George Mason's objections and identify and describe an event in American history or a contemporary event that supports the objection.

4. Select one of George Mason's objections and explain what remedies our constitutional government provides for the type of problem he identified. Then, take and defend a position on whether or not the remedy is adequate.

TEACHING GUIDE LESSON PLAN 1

What conflicting opinions did the Framers have about the completed Constitution?

LESSON OVERVIEW

In this lesson students learn of some of the disagreements about the Constitution which set the stage for the debates over its ratification. These are significant because many have to do with issues that are still discussed and debated today. Students read a statement by Benjamin Franklin who supported the adoption of the Constitution, the objections of George Mason who opposed it, and the last notes on the convention written by James Madison.

Student analysis of the objections of George Mason focuses upon his use of the basic ideas of constitutional government, republicanism, and representative government to make his case against the Constitution.

LESSON OBJECTIVES

At the conclusion of this lesson:

1. Students should be able to explain the comments made by Benjamin Franklin and James Madison who favored the adoption of the Constitution.

2. Students should be able to explain the position of George Mason and give arguments in support of and in opposition to his criticisms of the Constitution.

TEACHING PROCEDURES

A. Reading and Discussion: Identifying reasons for opposition to the Constitution

Have students read "Framers for and against the Constitution." Ask them to speculate, on the basis of what they have learned about the Philadelphia Convention, why Alexander Hamilton and Elbridge Gerry anticipated opposition to the adoption and ratification of the Constitution.

B. Reading and Group Activity: Presenting alternative positions

Have students read the rest of the lesson. Then divide the class into four groups. Have one group present Franklin's position and a second group respond critically to it. Then have another group present Mason's position and a second group respond critically to it. After each pair of presentations, the entire class should decide which presentation was more persuasive.

You may wish to conclude the activity with a discussion of what relevance, if any,

Mason's objections have to today's government under the Constitution.

C. Concluding Activity

Conclude the lesson by leading a discussion of the questions included in "Reviewing and using the lesson."

OPTIONAL ACTIVITIES

For Reinforcement, Extended Learning, and Enrichment

1. Have students read studies of the convention and select speeches by Mason to be read to the class.

2. Ask the students to write a paragraph speculating on what would have happened if the Constitution had not been ratified.

3. Select students to read from a biography of John Hancock of Massachusetts and to report to the class how he was persuaded to support the Constitution.

4. Have students work in pairs or in small groups to complete the following exercise. Ask students to turn to the section "George Mason's objections to the Constitution" in the lesson. Ask them to reread each of George Mason's objections and identify for each objection the principle of government Mason believed the Constitution may have violated. Discuss their ideas as a class.

LESSON 2

What was the Federalists' position in the debate over ratification?

Purpose of Lesson 2

The people who supported ratification (approval) of the Constitution, which created a *federal government*, were called *Federalists*. Those who were against ratification of the Constitution were called *Anti-Federalists*. It is important to understand the differences between the opinions of these two groups. Many of the issues they raised are still being debated today. This lesson will help you understand the position of the Federalists. The next lesson will present the position of the Anti-Federalists.

When you complete this lesson, you should be able to explain the views of the Federalists, and the following basic ideas and terms as used in this lesson.

Federalists
Anti-Federalists
ratifying conventions
The Federalist

The Federalists ask the voters to approve the Constitution

The Federalists knew that many members of Congress and the state governments were against the new Constitution, largely because it reduced their powers. So the Federalists decided *not* to ask the Congress or state governments to approve the Constitution, even though this is what they were expected to do.

James Madison developed the basic plan presented by the Federalists. The plan was to go directly to the *voters* to get them to approve the Constitution. The Constitution would be presented at special *ratifying conventions* to be held in each state. The delegates would be elected by popular vote of the people for the sole purpose of approving the Constitution. Madison's plan was consistent with the basic idea contained in the Preamble to the Constitution which says, "We the People ... do ordain and establish this Constitution ..."

Another example of the social contract

The Federalists' plan was another example of the use of the idea of a social contract. The people who were to be governed by the new national government were asked to *consent* to its creation and to agree to obey its decisions. You may recognize this as the method for establishing a government set forth in the natural rights philosophy of John Locke and in the Declaration of Independence. In Jefferson's words, just government "derive their ... powers from the consent of the governed." Some people had argued, for example, that the Articles of Confederation were not valid or legitimate because they had never been presented to the people for their consent.

The Federalists attempt to act quickly to defeat the Anti-Federalists

The Framers at the convention approved this plan. They included a provision in the Constitution that would put it into effect after it had been ratified by the conventions of just nine of the thirteen states.

Once they had agreed upon their strategy, the Federalists encouraged their associates in the states to organize the state conventions and elect delegates to them as quickly as possible. They knew that the Anti-Federalists had not had much time to organize their opposition. By contrast, the Federalists had worked on the Constitution for almost four months. They knew the arguments for and against it and had organized themselves to get support for it. They thought that if the conventions acted quickly, the Anti-Federalists would have less time to organize opposition to ratification.

The struggle for ratification

But the Anti-Federalists put up a strong fight. The debates in the states over ratification took ten months. It was an intense and sometimes bitter political struggle. One of the most difficult fights for ratification was in the state of New York. To help the Federalist cause, three men -- Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay -- were asked to write a series of articles to be published in a newspaper in New York. The articles were not intended to present all sides of the conflict over the Constitution. Their purpose was to convince people to support the ratification of the Constitution. These articles are now called *The Federalist*. They are considered to be the most important work written in defense of the new Constitution.

The men who wrote the Constitution were politicians. During the convention they had been engaged in serious conflicts of opinion. They had made compromises in developing the Constitution in order to get a majority of the delegates to vote for it. The compromises were also necessary to get people in the states to ratify the Constitution.

The Federalists' arguments for the Constitution

In defending the new Constitution, the writers of *The Federalist* were very skilled at using the basic ideas about government which most Americans understood and accepted. They presented the Constitution as a well-organized, agreed-upon plan for the national government. The conflicts and compromises that had taken place during its development were downplayed in their attempt to present the Constitution as favorably as possible. The remainder of this lesson contains the main arguments that the Federalists made for their position.

1. The civic virtue of the people cannot be relied upon alone to protect basic rights

Throughout history, the Federalists argued, the greatest dangers in republics to the common welfare and the natural rights of citizens had been from the selfish pursuit of their interests by groups of citizens who ignored the common welfare. Therefore, for almost two thousand years, political philosophers had insisted that republican government was only safe if the citizens had to be willing, when appropriate, to set aside their selfish interests if it was necessary to do so for the common welfare.

However, recent experiences with their state governments had led a number of people to doubt that they could rely upon the virtue of citizens to promote the common welfare and protect the rights of individuals. You will remember that many of the state legislatures had passed laws that helped people in debt at the expense of those to whom they owed money. These laws were seen by many as an infringement upon property rights which were, after all, one of the basic natural rights for which the Revolution had been fought in the first place.

If the proper working of a republican form of government could not rely upon the virtue of its citizens, what could it rely upon? How could a government be organized so it would not be dominated by self-interested individuals or factions at the expense of others?

2. The way the government is organized will protect basic rights

A major idea contained in the *The Federalist* is that the national government set forth in the Constitution did not have to rely solely upon the civic virtue of the people to protect citizens' rights and promote their welfare. The writers believed that it was unrealistic to expect people in a large and diverse nation, living hundreds of miles apart, to be willing to give up their own interests for the benefits of others.

The Federalists argued that the rights and welfare of all would be protected by the complicated system of *representation*, *separation of powers*, and *checks and balances* provided by the Constitution. They also believed that the method of electing senators and presidents would increase the possibility that they would have the qualities required of good governing officials.

The Federalists took the position that the Constitution's strength was that it provided for different branches of government which would represent the different interests of the people. They also claimed that this complicated system would make it impossible for any individual or faction -- or even a majority -- to take complete control of the government to serve its selfish interests at the expense of the common welfare or the rights of individuals.

The large size of the nation, they argued, would make it particularly difficult for any one faction to attain a majority. Since so many interests and factions would be represented in the national government, it would be less likely that any one of them would dominate.

Some would argue that the system was so complicated that it would be difficult to get anything done, especially if one or more interested and powerful groups objected to something that was being planned. However, Madison, in *The Federalist*, clearly did not see this as a disadvantage. One of his criticisms of the state legislatures had been that they passed too many laws in the first place. Some of the Founders believed that the best way to prevent a bad law from being passed was to prevent a law from being passed at all.

3. The representation of different interests in the government will protect basic rights

The following are the branches among which the Constitution distributed the powers of the national government and the interests the Federalists argued each was supposed to represent.

a. Legislative branch. The *House of Representatives* would protect the people's *local* interests, since representatives would be chosen from small congressional districts. The *Senate* would protect the people's *state* interests, since it would be elected by state legislatures.

b. Executive branch. The *president* would protect the people's *national* interests, since

he would be elected by a method that required electors to select him from among leaders who had achieved national prominence.

c. Judicial branch. The *Supreme Court* would protect the people's *fundamental* interests, since it was independent of political manipulation and therefore responsible only to the Constitution.

Did the national government have too much power?

The Federalists admitted that the new national government had much more power than the old national government, and that it had more control over the states. But they argued that it was a government limited to enumerated powers. The federal system and checks and balances ensure that those limits would not be violated. As a result, they claimed, the increased powers given to the government under the Constitution could only be used to protect, not to violate, the rights of the people.

Critics feared that giving so much power to a national government might be a serious threat to their rights and welfare. The arguments of these people, the Anti-Federalists, is the subject of the next lesson.

Reviewing and using the lesson

1. Who were the Federalists? Who were the Anti-Federalists?

2. Why was *The Federalist* written? Who wrote the articles?

3. Why didn't the Federalists want the Constitution submitted to the existing Congress or state governments for ratification?

4. According to the Federalists, where did the greatest dangers to the rights of citizens come from? What evidence had there been in their recent experience that supported this position?

5. Explain the opinion that civic virtue was needed to make a republican form of government work properly.

6. Why did the Federalists think they could not rely just upon civic virtue to make the new nation work properly?

7. How did the Federalists think they could make republican government work properly in a large and diverse nation?

8. How did the Federalists answer the criticism that the Constitution gave the federal government too much power?

TEACHING GUIDE LESSON PLAN 2

What was the Federalists' position in the debate over ratification?

LESSON OVERVIEW

In this lesson students learn about the strategy and the arguments the Federalists used to get the Constitution ratified. These include their use of the concepts of the social contract and consent; and the argument that it is unrealistic, in an extended republic, to rely upon the traditional notion of a small nation of citizens possessing civic virtue as the best means of protecting natural rights and promoting the common welfare. Instead, the Federalists argued, in a large and diverse nation, these goals are best served by a federal system consisting of complex provisions for representation, separation of powers, and checks and balances to make it impossible for self-interested factions to form a majority at the expense of minority rights and the common welfare.

LESSON OBJECTIVES

At the conclusion of this lesson:

1. Students should be able to explain why the Federalists wanted the Constitution to be ratified in state conventions, and the arguments they used to justify this procedure which is included in Article VII of the Constitution.

2. Students should be able to explain the arguments made by the Federalists in support of the Constitution. This should include explaining how the Federalists' arguments differed from classical arguments about republican government.

TEACHING PROCEDURES

A. Reading and Discussion: Understanding the reason for the Federalists' support of state ratifying conventions

Have students read from "The Federalists ask the voters to approve the Constitution" up to, but not including, "The Federalists' arguments for the Constitution." Help students understand the strategy and position of the Federalists in planning for the ratification of the Constitution, and how they used the ideas of the social contract and consent in justifying their position. The students should also understand that the Federalists were better organized than their opponents, the Anti-Federalists. Students should know that *The Federalist* was written by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay as part of the debate over ratification in the state of New York.

B. Reading and Group Activity: Understanding the Federalists' arguments for the Constitution

Have the students read the remainder of the lesson. Divide the class into three groups. Assign each to read one of the three sections in which the Federalists' argument is described in the text. Then have each group present its argument to the class.

In a concluding discussion, ask students whether they agree with all of the arguments of the Federalists. If they disagree, they should be asked to give their reasons. For example, some students might suggest that a government that has fewer checks and balances would be more efficient and therefore better able to promote the common welfare. Students supporting such a position should be asked to provide evidence to back their position.

C. Concluding activity

Conclude the lesson by leading a discussion of the questions included in "Reviewing and using the lesson."

OPTIONAL ACTIVITIES

For Reinforcement, Extended Learning, and Enrichment

1. Have students obtain a copy of *The Federalist* and read one of the essays to the class in their own terms.

2. If your state is one of the original thirteen, have students do research on the ratification convention in the state.

3. Have students study in detail the ratification battle in New York and account for the Federalist victory there.

4. Students should prepare a report for the class in which they explain why Rhode Island took so long to join the Union under the Constitution.

LESSON PLAN 3

What was the Anti-Federalists' position in the debate over ratification?

Purpose of Lesson 3

In this lesson you will learn the position of the Anti-Federalists. To understand their point of view, we will focus upon the writings of Mercy Otis Warren, the author of many plays and political pamphlets. The Anti-Federalists' position was based mainly on the ideas that had been discussed for over two thousand years about the kind of society that was necessary for a republic. You will also learn of one of the greatest contributions to our Constitution that resulted from the debate between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists -- the Bill of Rights.

When you finish this lesson you should be able to explain the arguments of the Anti-Federalists, and the response of the Federalists to these arguments.

The concerns of the Anti-Federalists

Most Americans were very suspicious of government, but the Anti-Federalists were especially mistrustful of government in general and strong national government in particular. This mistrust was the basis of this opposition to the Constitution which they feared had created a government the people could not control.

The importance of representative government and civic virtue

In general, the Anti-Federalists were older Americans who had grown up believing in the basic ideas of republicanism. These included the idea that in a republic, the greatest power should be placed in a legislature composed of representatives elected by the people of a community. It had always been thought that this kind of *representative government* would only work in a small community of citizens with similar interests and beliefs, because in such a community it would be easier for people to agree upon what was in their common welfare.

In addition, it was widely believed that people living in small agrarian communities would be more likely to possess the *civic virtue* required of republican citizens. Living closely together they would be more likely to be willing to set aside their own selfish interests when necessary and to work together for their common welfare.

The Anti-Federalists understood that the Federalists were proposing a government that was the opposite of this type of republican government. It was large and powerful, it included numerous diverse communities, and its capital would be far away from most of the people it represented. The Anti-Federalists believed such a system would inevitably pose a threat to the rights of the people.

Many distinguished Americans were Anti-Federalists. George Mason, whose arguments you read in Lesson 1 of this unit, was one. Other prominent Anti-Federalists included Patrick Henry, Luther Martin, Robert Yates, and George Clinton.

The arguments of the Anti-Federalists

Mercy Otis Warren was a playwright as well as an Anti-Federalist writer. She is noteworthy because of her unusual ability to enter the man's world of early American politics. Her main criticisms of the Constitution are a good example of the Anti-Federalist position. The Anti-Federalists argued that the Constitution had the following flaws.

- It gave too much power to the national government at the expense of the powers of the state governments.
- It gave too much power to the executive branch of the national government at the expense of the other branches.
- It gave Congress too much power because of the "necessary and proper clause."
- It did not adequately separate the powers of the executive and legislative branch.
- It allowed the national government to keep an army during peacetime.
- It did not include a bill of rights.
- It should have been developed in meetings whose proceedings were open to the public.

The fear of a strong national government

Warren and the other Anti-Federalists feared that, because of the flaws they believed the Constitution contained, the new national government would be a threat to their natural rights. They also thought that the Constitution had been developed by an elite and privileged group to create a national government for the purpose of serving its own selfish interests. She and most of the Anti-Federalists thought that the only safe government was one that was (a) local and closely linked with the will of the people, and (b) controlled by the people, by such means as yearly elections, and by replacing people in key positions often.

The Federalists' response

The Anti-Federalists had some of the traditional arguments on their side about what made a good government. However, the Federalists were better organized. The Constitution and their arguments to support it contained a solution for the problem of creating a republican government in a large and diverse nation. They were able to convince a large number of people to support their position by the following arguments.

The civic virtue of the people could no longer be relied upon as the sole support of a government that would protect the people's rights and promote their welfare.

- The way in which the Constitution organized the government, including the separation of powers and checks and balances, was the best way to promote the goals of republicanism.
- A strong national government was needed to deal with the economic and other problems of the new nation.

The agreement to add a bill of rights

By June of 1788, nine states had voted to ratify the Constitution. But the important states of New York and Virginia had not yet approved the Constitution. The debates were very close in these states because of the fear of creating such a large and powerful national government. Finally, the people of New York and Virginia voted in favor of the Constitution. However, this did not happen until the Federalists promised that one of the first things the new national government would do would be to adopt a *bill of rights* that would place further limitations on the powers of the national government. That promise reduced much of the support for the Anti-Federalists.

The Federalists had argued against adding a bill of rights to the Constitution. They claimed that the way the government was organized made it impossible for it to violate people's rights. Some argued that adding a bill of rights would not prevent a government from violating people's rights if it wanted to. Most of the state constitutions had bills of rights and many of those governments were thought to have violated at least some of the people's rights anyway. Some Federalists even argued that a national bill of rights might give the impression that the people only expected protection of those rights that were listed.

Finally, a compromise was reached. In order to get some of the Anti-Federalist to support the Constitution, the Federalists agreed that when the first Congress was held, it would draft a bill of rights to be added to the Constitution. It was to list those rights of citizens which were not to be violated by the *federal* government. But they insisted that the bill of rights include a statement saying that the list of rights should not be interpreted to mean that they were the only rights the people had.

The Federalists deserve the credit for winning the Constitution, which created our present form of government. The debate resulting from the Anti-Federalists' objections to the Constitution resulted in the addition of the Bill of Rights. It was not a useless addition. The Bill of Rights has proved to be vitally important to the protection of the basic rights of the American people.

Reviewing and using the lesson

1. Why did the Anti-Federalists believe that the Constitution would not be able to maintain a system of republican government?

2. List specific objections to the Constitution that Anti-Federalists made.

3. What does the following quotation tell you about a major fear of the Anti-Federalists?

> We ought to consider the depravity of human nature, the predominant thirst for power which is in the breast of everyone, the temptation rules may have, and the unlimited confidence placed in them by this system. (A participant in the North Carolina debates over the ratification of the Constitution.)

4. The Anti-Federalists lost their battle to prevent the adoption of the Constitution. However, they left a permanent impact on the Constitution. How?

5. Would you have voted to ratify the Constitution as written in 1787? Why?

TEACHING GUIDE LESSON PLAN 3

What was the Anti-Federalists' position in the debate over ratification?

LESSON OVERVIEW

This lesson presents the Anti-Federalists' criticisms of the Constitution which are illustrated by the arguments of Mercy Otis Warren. The Anti-Federalists' position was based on traditional ideas about the requirements for republican government. These included such ideas stated by Montesquieu and others as the need for a small community of citizens possessing civic virtue with common interests that facilitate agreement on their common welfare; representative government; widespread suffrage; the effective separation of powers; and checks and balances. Students learn the Federalists' response to the criticisms of the Anti-Federalists, and how the debate between the two groups led to the development and adoption of the Bill of Rights.

LESSON OBJECTIVES

At the conclusion of this lesson:

1. Students should be able to explain the arguments of the Anti-Federalists and how those arguments were based upon traditional ideas of republican government.

2. Students should be able to explain the responses of the Federalists to the criticisms of the Anti-Federalists.

3. Students should be able to explain how the debate between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists led to the development and adoption of the Bill of Rights.

TEACHING PROCEDURES

A. Reading, Discussion, and Group Activity: Understanding the position of the Anti-Federalists

Have students read "The concerns of the Anti-Federalists" and "The importance of representative government and civic virtue." Be sure students know who the Anti-Federalists were and why they were fearful of the new government proposed by the Constitution. They should understand the general position of the Anti-Federalists on what constituted republican government.

Then have students read from "The arguments of the Anti-Federalists" up to and including "The Federalists' response." Select five students to present the arguments of the Anti-Federalists against the Constitution and five students to present the Federalists' response. Then engage the entire class in a discussion of the merits of these arguments.

B. Reading and Writing Activity: Understanding the different positions on the need for a Bill of Rights

Have the students read "The agreement to add a bill of rights." Then have them analyze the merits of the opposing positions on the Bill of Rights and describe the agreement that was reached between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists. This task may also be done as a writing activity.

C. Concluding Activity

Conclude the lesson by leading a discussion of the questions included in "Reviewing and using the lesson."

OPTIONAL ACTIVITIES

For Reinforcement, Extended Learning, and Enrichment

1. Have students conduct research in the library on Mercy Otis Warren, George Mason, and other prominent Anti-Federalists. They should present their findings to the rest of the class.

2. Twelve amendments were proposed to make up the Bill of Rights. Only ten were ratified. Which two proposed amendments failed to pass? Why were they defeated?

3. Have the class conduct a ratification debate between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists as the final activity of this unit. You may wish to have this held before a panel of judges selected from the community. The activity would probably require two days to complete. Use the following procedures for the debate.

a. Divide the class into two teams. Assign one team the task of developing a ten-to-fifteen minute presentation on the arguments of the Federalists. Assign the other team the task of developing a similar presentation on the arguments of the Anti-Federalists.

b. Divide each team into groups consisting of five students each. Ask these smaller groups to do research to identify arguments and supporting information on their team's position. The small groups may be assigned different research tasks. Reference materials may include the arguments set forth by the Federalists and Anti-Federalists located in the information contained in Lessons 1 and 2 of the text, or other reference materials you identify.

c. After they have completed their research, the groups composing each team should work together to develop the sequence of points to be made in presenting the team's position.

d. Each team should then select from three to five students to present its position before the class. After the presenters have been selected, they should rehearse their arguments before the rest of the members of their team who, acting as judges, should question the presenters during and after their presentations.

e. Start the hearing by having the spokespersons for the Federalist position present their arguments orally, taking from ten to fifteen minutes. Questions should be asked only

after the presentation is completed. This same procedure should be used for the Anti-Federalists' team.

UNIT OPTIONAL ACTIVITY: Practicing for a competition hearing

Topical question

Both the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists believed in the natural rights philosophy, republicanism and constitutionalism. If this is so, how can you explain the fact that the Federalists supported the ratification of the Constitution while the Anti-Federalists bitterly opposed it?

Follow-up questions

1. How would you justify the Framers' ignoring their instructions only to revise the Articles of Confederation?

2. How do you explain the Framers' decision to count a black slave as 3/5 of a person? Do you think this decision was justified? Why?

3. How would you describe the men who attended the Philadelphia Convention? What significance, if any, did their characteristics have on the Constitution produced by the Convention?

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CHAPTER V

Guide to *The Federalist* Papers

A GUIDE TO *THE FEDERALIST*

Many things can serve more than one purpose. CERTS, so the jingle goes, is two mints in one; it's a breath mint and a candy mint. So too, *The Federalist* is three documents in one. It is a campaign document, designed to win popular approval among the voters of New York State for the proposed Constitution; a serious work of political thought, analyzing the nature of free societies; and the authoritative commentary on the Constitution, reflecting the intent of the Framers of the Constitution.

The multi-purpose character of *The Federalist* is what makes it such a challenge to read with comprehension. To understand *The Federalist*, one must understand its historical context, the rhetoric (i.e., political language of that time), the political theory of *The Federalist*, the place of that theory in the history of political thought, and how these elements can reinforce one another on the printed page. Based on these criteria, no one can fully understand *The Federalist*, but one can apply these criteria to improve one's understanding of it, and that is the purpose of this guide.

Historical Background

On 21 February 1787, the Congress of the Confederation called for a convention to revise the Articles of Confederation. In the months that followed, all of the states (except for Rhode Island) elected delegates to the convention. That convention, known as the Constitutional Convention, met in the city of Philadelphia from 25 May to 17 September. The product of its summertime efforts was a new Constitution, debated in the Congress, 26-28 September, and sent without approval to the states. [1]

By the end of 1787, four states had ratified the Constitution, beginning with Delaware, whose license plates now read "First State" to commemorate its early action. By June of 1788, four more states ratified. Then, on 21 June, New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify, bringing the Constitution into effect.

New York State was not among the nine required for ratification. In fact, New York did not ratify the Constitution until 26 July 1788, thereby becoming the eleventh to do so. The state legislature delayed the process, first, by waiting until February 1788 to call the convention, and then by scheduling the election for the end of April and the convention for mid-June. But why did the state legislature choose to delay the process? To understand *The Federalist* as a campaign document, one must first understand why New York State waited so long to ratify.

New York was a reluctant state because neither Federalists nor Anti-Federalist leaders were willing to risk an early decision. As the state's minority party, Federalists wanted late elections in the hope of swaying new voters to their side; they wanted a late convention, because they believed they could win over moderate Anti-Federalist delegates before the convention. And if these two efforts failed, there would be no early defeat in New York to hurt their efforts in other states.

Anti-Federalists had their own reasons for delay: They were led by George Clinton, the state's first governor, undefeated in every election bid since 1771. Clinton was a smart politician who tried to leave nothing to chance. He realized his forces might have won an early contest, but they also might have lost. He wanted time to assess his statewide strength on this

particular issue and to organize the diversity of interests needed to win in a state like New York. He also hoped that, with time, Anti-Federalists could build an interstate movement for a second constitutional convention. Finally, Clinton did not want New York to be the first big state to say no. [2]

How and Why *The Federalist* Was Written

The proposed Constitution was first printed in New York on 21 September 1787, and within a week the debate over its adoption began. A commentary by a Federalist appeared in a New York City newspaper, *The Daily Advertiser*, on 24 September. It was answered three days later in the city's only Anti-Federalist newspaper, *The New York Journal*, by "Cato" I, the first of seven Anti-Federalist essays attributed by some to Governor Clinton. Several days later, "Cato" was attached in a newspaper essay by "Caesar" (possibly Alexander Hamilton), and the debate was well underway, nurturing two basic tools of American campaign politics -- the print media and the political party.

The Federalist was an important part of the New York debate, with the first essay appearing on 27 October 1787 two days after the unanswered charges of "Cato" III were published.[3] The decision to write the essay was made by Alexander Hamilton and fellow New Yorker, John Jay. Though little is known about that decision, it is likely that Hamilton recognized the need for an authoritative series of essays in defense of the proposed Constitution to counter the early onslaught of Anti-Federalists like "Cato," and that *The Federalist* was intended to serve that purpose.

The essays were written by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison under the pseudonym "Publius."[4] A total of eighty-five essays was printed in New York City between 27 October 1787 and 28 May 1788. The essays were first published in New York City newspapers. They were then widely circulated in other newspapers until January 1788 when it was announced that the M'Lean brothers would print the essays in book form. (The first of the two-volume set was published on 22 March 1788; the second, on 28 May.)

The essays were addressed to the "People of the State of New York," and intended to convince New Yorkers of the necessity of ratifying the Constitution. In particular, the essays were intended to show, in Hamilton's words: "The utility of the UNION to your political prosperity -- The insufficiency of the present Confederation to preserve that Union -- The necessity of a government at least as equally energetic with the one proposed to the attainment of this object -- The conformity of the proposed constitution to the true principles of republican government -- Its analogy to your own state constitution -- and lastly, the additional security, which its adoption will afford to the preservation of that species of government, to liberty, and to property. "[5]

The essays were written on a tight schedule: at first, two were printed each week; later, the scheduled was increased to four per week. This did not leave much time for careful study or coordination. As James Madison explains, the essays "were written most of them in great haste, and without any special allotment (assignment) of the different parts of the subject to the several writers, J.M. (James Madison) being at the time a member of the then Congress (of the Confederation in New York City), and A.H. (Alexander Hamilton) being also a member, and occupied moreover in his profession at the bar (i.e., as a lawyer, which occasionally took him up to Albany)."[6]

At the time of their publication, *The Federalist* papers were widely recognized by Federalist

and Anti-Federalist alike as one of the most serious and sophisticated defenses of the Constitution. Federalists generally regarded the essays as the best analysis of the Constitution, though some admitted that they were too "elaborate" and not "well calculated for the common people." (In other words, even friendly readers of the day found them heavy and, at times, difficult reading.)

Today, *The Federalist* is widely regarded as the authoritative statement of the intent of the Framers of the Constitution. It is used by lawyers, legal scholars, and judges to interpret the meaning of particular clauses of the Constitution, and by theorists to understand the meaning of the Constitution as a whole. However, its impact on its intended audience -- the people of New York -- was negligible. A majority of New York voters cast their ballot for Anti-Federalist convention delegates, and there is no evidence that any of those Anti-Federalist delegates who later decided to switch their final vote for ratification were influenced by *The Federalist.*

How *The Federalist* Begins

With this background in mind, consider how *The Federalist* begins. Read the following sentence from the first paragraph of the very first essay.

> It has been frequently remarked, that it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not, of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend, for their political constitutions, on accident and force.

Written by Hamilton, this sentence can be read in two ways; namely, as the opening statements of a campaign document and a work of political thought.

As the opening statement of a campaign document, this sentence is a classic "gambit" -- an opening move designed to occupy a favorable position (in this case, the "high ground") with a minimal amount of sacrifices. Consider how the same sentence might read in terms of today's political rhetoric:

> Once again, my fellow Americans, we have an historic opportunity (presented by my friends and I) to show the world that we are a thoughtful people capable of creating good government by careful planning and popular consent, not by being forced to do it or by accidentally blundering into it.

The opening sentence gains added dimension as a campaign statement when its political context is recalled. The overall context was shaped by the desire to buy time, and what better way to do that than to appeal to the "reflective" nature of the voters? The particular context is the newspapers of New York City and what was being printed that week by the opposition.[7]

As an opening statement of political thought, the first sentence of *The Federalist No. 1* suggests that politicians (and Hamilton was one of the best) do not campaign simply to win the votes of the people, they also campaign to govern; in this instance, to inform the public (and by that I mean giving shape and form to the public mind as well as providing it with bits of information) about the better world that will be possible under the new Constitution. And

this involves the selection and use of words not merely as tactics in an overall strategy but also as concepts (ideas) in an overall theory.

In this sense, the opening sentence contains two basic ideas that shape America's theory of constitutionalism.[8] Hamilton elegantly phrases those ideas but he did not invent them. In fact, they were so much a part of the eighteenth-century American mind that they were widely used by Federalists and Anti-Federalists, alike.

The two ideas used to introduce *The Federalist* answer the political question: If society is governed by laws, how can laws (and in this instance, the Constitution) be made in a way that the members of society will willingly obey? The answer to this question is, in Hamilton's words, "reflection and choice."

1. **Reflection** is the Enlightenment idea that humankind is a thinking species, capable of improving its lot by thinking before it acts. This idea was shared by both sides in the debate, and it is one of the reasons why the campaign remained a peaceful debate. It was used in *The Federalist No. 1*, but it was also used by Anti-Federalist "Cato" I: "Deliberate, therefore, on this new national government with coolness; analize[9] it with criticism; and reflect on it with candour.... Beware of those who wish to influence your passions, and to make you dupes to their resentments and little interests...." And "Cato" II wrote of *The Federalist* author "Caesar": "he shuts the door of true deliberation and discussion."

This is not to say that all matters of politics were objects of reason. Reprinted from a Philadelphia statement of 29 August 1787 in the *New Jersey Journal* on 5 September 1787, while the Constitutional Convention was still in session, is an interesting distinction: "The principles of liberty and the principles of government ... are distinct things: Many understand the former which are matters of feeling, who know nothing of the latter, which are objects of reflection and reason."

2. **Choice** is the republican idea of popular consent. It occurs time and time again throughout *The Federalist* and all other commentaries on the Constitution by Federalists and Anti-Federalists; and it stands for the complex yet simple notion that people will obey laws of their own making (or by representatives of their own choosing), so long as they have confidence in themselves and their representatives. In the heat of debate, some Federalists accused Anti-Federalists of pandering to the people, while some Anti-Federalists accused the other side of forgetting the people. However, virtually all were advocates of popular government; and, rhetoric aside, most were advocates of popular government by some form of elected representation. [10]

In sum, then, Federalists and Anti-Federalists agreed on the need for delay, the worth of cool and reasoned debate, and the goal of government by popular consent. On what did they disagree and how did federalism figure into that debate?

What the Anti-Federalists Were For[11]: A Confederacy of Small Republics

Federalists and Anti-Federalists were both advocates of popular government in its republican form. Where they differed was in the type of republican society they wanted and the type of federal system they thought best suited to secure that society.

Anti-Federalists were opposed to the proposed Constitution in its original form; and like

any group bound by opposition, it would have been difficult for them to agree on what they were for. It is for this reason that they are remembered as "men of little faith." However, as one reads their writings, one builds a sense that Anti-Federalists were against the Constitution as proposed because they were for a type of society that they felt would be threatened by the new Constitution; and, as they read what "Publius" had to say, especially in essays such as the *The Federalist No. 10*, their fears were undoubtedly confirmed, because "Publius" was quite clear about the different type of society he envisioned.

Much of Anti-Federalist opinion was united behind the idea that republics had to be small (like ancient Greek city-states, medieval Swiss cantons, or modern American states) to survive. Undoubtedly, part of this opinion was shaped by a desire to preserve the existing status quo. However, another part was an idea which they drew from the French philosopher Montesquieu: the basis of republican government (i.e., popular consent) required a small and intimate setting where citizens (1) knew one another, (2) shared similar habits and values, and (3) did not have the opportunity to become too unequal in their fortunes, because without these three bonds, people would not trust one another enough to agree on anything (including how to protect themselves against tyranny). Note how "Cato" III relies on these same three bonds in his explanation:

> The strongest principle of union resides within our domestic (i.e., family) walls. The ties of the parent exceed that of any other; as we depart from home, the next general principle of union is amongst citizens of the same state, where acquaintance, habits, and fortunes, nourish affection, and attachments; enlarge the circle still further, &, as citizens of different states, though we acknowledge the same national denomination, we lose the ties of acquaintance, habits, and fortunes, and thus, by degrees, we lessen in our attachments, till, at length, we no more than acknowledge a sameness of species.

"Cato" assumed the existence of a Union (see line 1 of the quote) and of national ties (see line 8). What "Cato" could not accept was the ideal of a national government. Like other Anti-Federalists, "Cato" advocated a federal or confederal union of the states. In the eighteenth century, "federal" and "confederal" were used as synonyms. Both terms referred to relations among equals (in this instance, states) entered into voluntarily by compact of covenant. They could be loose relations (as in an alliance or league) or they could be stronger, as in the perpetual union formed by the Articles of Confederation. However, Anti-Federalists rejected the Federalist argument that federal relations could exist with a national government in the same system.

Today, we might consider Anti-Federalist attitude to be "parochial" and "small town"; and we would be right. But does this make "Cato" wrong?

What the Federalists Were For: An Extended and Compound Republic

Federalists, including "Publius," believed "Cato" was dead wrong. In fact, much of what made the Federalist argument so new to the eighteenth-century mind was (1) the idea that republics should be large and complex, not small and simple; and (2) the constitutional means for accomplishing that task.

In *The Federalist No. 10*, James Madison as "Publius," sets out the reasons step-by-step (i.e., the logic) for a large, compound republic, focusing more on the large-republic element. He resumes this theoretical discussion in *The Federalist No. 51*, focusing on the compound republic element. In Numbers 37 and 39, he considers the constitutional means for securing a large, compound republic. There are other writings where the Federalist experiment is explained[12] but it is Madison's Tenth, like Beethoven's Fifth, which is most frequently required of the student and hence, the most widely known. For this reason, let us review Madison's Tenth to discover the reasons for wanting a large, compound republic, and then proceed to Numbers 51, 37, and 39 to complete the Madisonian model of republican government.

The Madisonian Model Outlined

The Federalist No. 10 and the Large Republic

1. The greatest danger facing popular government is factionalism, which occurs when a majority or minority unites around a passion or interest adverse to individual rights or the public good. (Why does Madison single out factionalism?) [13]

2. Madison rejects the idea of controlling factionalism by removing its causes.
   a. Controlling the people by denying their liberties, which would be unwise, much like throwing the baby out with the bathwater. (Is factious behavior, as defined by Madison, illegal today? If not, should it be?) [14]
   b. Telling people how to think, which would not work because no one would listen unless they were forced to so, and that option was rejected (see 2(a) above).

3. Madison accepts the idea of controlling factionalism by controlling its effects.

4. The effects of minority factions can be controlled relatively simply by the republican principle (of popular consent), by which the majority would defeat the minority faction at the polls. (Did Madison worry too little about minority factions? Was he too tolerant of some of its effect?)

5. The real problem facing popular governments and the "great object" of his essay is how to control the majority when it becomes factious.

6. There are two basic ways to control majority factions: control the motives that inspire them and the opportunities for them to organize. These are taken up in (8) and (9) below, respectively, after Madison introduces the distinction between democracies and republics.

7. Of the two forms of popular government, a republic is more likely than a democracy to control majority factions, partly because democracies are by their very nature inclined toward instability. Also, republics allow for representation and increased size of population and territory. These last two factors are considered below.

8. Republics make it possible to have elected representatives, and good ones can refine the factious spirit that might spread among the majority.
   a. Large republics are more likely than small republics to elect good representatives for two reasons:
      (i) Regardless of their size, all republics need the same number of legislators, in

order to avoid the clubiness of too few and the confusion of too many. But in a large republic there will be more options to fill those seats with qualified people.
(ii) Since the size of the constituency is greater in the large republic, it will be less susceptible to deception by unworthy candidates. (Is it harder to fool 100,000 people than 10,000?)
(iii) However, on this as on other points, one must strive for the mean. If the constituency is too large, the representative will not be sufficiently aware of local conditions. If the constituency is too small, the representative will be too tied to local conditions and unable to see the larger picture or pursue the national interest. The Constitution forms a "happy combination" that refers "great and aggregate interests" to the federal Congress and "local and particular" interests to the state legislatures. (Is there one optimum ration of representative to be represented for a national legislature, and another optimum for state legislatures? And is this a guarantor that the states are "closer" to the people?)

9. Republics make it possible to increase the size of the citizenry and territory, and larger republics make it less likely that majority factions will form.

a. The larger the society, the greater the variety of parties and interests. (Does Madison seem to prefer a pluralistic society?)
b. The greater the diversity of interests in society, the less likely a majority will have a single passion or interest. Put differently, majorities in large societies are more likely to be coalitions of various interests than a monolithic force of one interest. (Is this also an obstacle for forming majorities around a single public good?)
c. The larger the number of citizens and territory, the more difficult it will be for those who could form a factious majority to discover one another and come together. (Does this still hold in today's society of telecommunications, electronic media, and supersonic jets?)

10. The Union is more likely to control the effects of faction than are the states composing it.

a. Members of Congress are more likely to possess the enlightened views and virtuous sentiments needed to override local prejudice. (If "Cato" had a localistic "small town" bias, does Madison suffer from a cosmopolitan bias?)
b. The greater variety of parties in the Union as a whole will prevent any one party from outnumbering the others. For example, a factious leader may be able to take over one state but not the Union; a religious sect may become a factious majority in one region, but other sects will prevent its spread; a particular fad or disruptive element or wicked group is less likely to take over the whole system than a part of it.

11. "In the extent and proper structure of the Union, therefore, we behold a republican remedy for the diseases most incident to republican government." Madison fully considered the extent (size) of the Union, but he did not go as far in addressing its "proper structure" (i.e. its compound nature); a matter which is introduced in point ten and continued in *The Federalist No. 51*.

The Federalist No. 51 and the Principle of the Compound Republic

1. Madison continues the theoretical discussion of Number Ten, shifting attention from controlling minority and majority factions to controlling all factions and government itself. At the end of the fourth paragraph, he notes: "A dependence on the people (i.e., on the republican idea of popular consent) is, no doubt, the primary control on the government; but experience

has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary precautions (i.e., extra safeguards)."

2. Madison identifies three "auxiliary precautions": limited government, framed by laws; divided government, with one "department" (i.e., branch) checked by another; and a compound republic, providing the double security of two sets of limited and divided governments (i.e., federal and state).

3. All three precautions are governed by the same policy of "checks and balances." As Madison notes in paragraph five: "This policy, of supplying by opposite and rival interests, the defect of better motives, might be traced through the whole system of human affairs, private as well as public." (Historians of science find this view of the political world similar to Newton's view of the universe. What do you think?)

4. In a classic statement of human nature, Madison explains the need for auxiliary precautions (see the middle of paragraph four):

a. Ambition must be made to counteract ambition. (Why does Madison single out ambition?) [16]

b. If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels governed men, no controls on government would be necessary. (How does this compare with Hamilton's view in *The Federalist No. 6*, paragraph three?)

c. In framing a government of men over men, one must first empower the government to control the people, and then oblige it to control itself. A dependence on the people is the best control over the government, but other safeguards are necessary.

The Federalist No. 37 and the Task of Forming a Compound Republic

1. Madison addresses the difficulties of forming a compound republic. [17]

2. The first challenge is to insure a proper balance among three seemingly contradictory principles:

a. Energetic government, which seems to require concentrating power in a single hand.

b. Stability, which seems to require a long duration in office.

c. Republican liberty, which seems to require widely distributing power among many hands holding office for short periods of time.

3. The second set of challenges is the task of deciding the proper distribution of authority between general and state governments, and among legislative, executive, and judicial branches.

4. The final set of challenges has to do with mediating the differences between large and small states, and among other combinations of states (e.g., North vs. South, and East vs. West).

The Federalist No. 39 and the New Federalism

1. In this essay, Madison finally gets down to the specific ways in which the Constitution establishes a government that is both republican and federal.

2. In the first six paragraphs, Madison offers a specific definition of republican

government and, in textbook fashion, shows how the new government is fully republican in form.

3. Madison then takes on the charge that the Framers should have "preserved the *federal* form, which regards the Union as a *Confederacy* of sovereign states; instead of which they have framed a *national* government, which regards the Union as a *consolidation* of the States." (Recall the way these terms were used in 1787: "federal" and "confederal" were synonyms referring to the lateral relations among states.)

4. Madison's answer is a perfect combination of campaign rhetoric and political theory. The New Constitution, explains Madison, keeps the federal element of interstate relations and simply adds to it a national element. The result, Madison cleverly concludes, "is, in strictness, neither a national nor a federal Constitution, but a composition of both."

5. Madison's answer nicely elaborates the Constitution as a compound of federal and national elements:

a. The ratification of the Constitution is a federal act, with the people electing delegates and the delegates voting on the Constitution, both as members of their respective states.
b. The source of powers for the new government is partly federal and partly national, with the House of Representatives elected nationally, the Senate elected by the states (i.e., federally), and the President elected by an Electoral College which accumulates a national majority on a state-by-state basis.
c. The operation of the new government is national, because it acts directly on the individual citizen.
d. The extent or scope of the new government is federal, because it is supreme not over all things but only with regard to the enumerated powers granted to it, while the states remain supreme within their respective sphere.
e. Finally, the amendment process is neither wholly federal, nor wholly national, requiring special majorities of both the Congress and the states.

Conclusion

Federalism, then, occupies a critical position in *The Federalist*, both as a campaign document and a serious work of political thought. In one master stroke, Madison preempts the federal principle, taking it away from the sole preserve of Anti-Federalist opposition, while at the same time redirecting it toward the goals of building a new nation and expanding the republic. In this effort, Madison provides a bridge from the way federalism had been defined to the way federalism is understood today.

FOOTNOTES TO SOURCES CITED

[1] Article 7 of the proposed Constitution requires the "ratification (consent) of the conventions (not legislatures) of nine States (i.e., over two-thirds of the thirteen states)" to establish (i.e., bring into effect) the Constitution.

[2] For a full account, see John P. Kaminski, "New York: The Reluctant Pillar," in *The Reluctant Pillar: New York and the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, edited by Stephen L. Schechter (Troy, NY: Russell Sage College, 1985).

[3] Then, on 8 November 1788, Thomas Greenleaf, the Anti-Federalist printer, advertised the first pamphlet of ... *Letters From the Federal Farmer to the Republican*, considered then and today to be one of the best Anti-Federalist commentaries.

[4] Many commentaries on the Constitution were written under pseudonym, both to protect the author and to make full use of available symbols. Heroes of the Roman Republic were popular choices, because many were well-known symbols of republicanism. (Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Romans* was widely read at that time.) Publius Valerius established stable republican government after the overthrown of Tarquin, the last Roman king. The choice of this hero was undoubtedly Hamilton's since he had used the pseudonym nearly ten years earlier.

[5] *The Federalist No. 1*, pp 6-7. All quotes from *The Federalist* are from the Jacob E. Cooke edition (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), now distributed in paperback edition by Harper & Row.

[6] As quoted in John P. Kaminski and Gaspare J. Saladino, eds., *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution, Commentaries*, Volume 1 (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1981), p. 487. This excellent series presents the commentaries on the Constitution in chronological order and with useful annotations and footnotes.

[7] Piecing together this context is not as difficult as it might seem. *The Documentary History* noted above is arranged in chronological order, so one can simply look up *The Federalist No. 1* and begin reading the previous documents looking for cross-references.

[8] Constitutionalism is the belief that society should be governed by laws, of which the Constitution is the most fundamental.

[9] *Sic*. There were few established rules of standard spelling in eighteenth century.

[10] In the language of the day, popular government had two species: a republic in which governmental decisions were made by the people's representatives; and a democracy in which governmental decisions were made by the people directly (as in an open-air meeting).

[11] The heading is taken from Herbert J. Storing, *What the Anti-Federalists Were For* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981). This slim paperback reviews Anti-Federalist political thought and introduces the multi-volume collection of Anti-Federalist writing, *The Complete Anti-Federalist*, edited by Storing.

[12] Hamilton sets out the theoretical argument for a large, compound republic in *The Federalist No. 9*. John Jay, often forgotten in his role as "Publius," is credited with writing the more politically persuasive version in a pamphlet entitled *An Address to the People of the State of New York*, signed by "A Citizen of New-York," and published on 15 April 1788.

[13] Number Ten was the first essay that Madison wrote, but, in the reader's mind, it was still the tenth essay written by "Publius." Since Hamilton had spoken of factions in Number Nine, and since factionalism was generally accepted as a major danger facing republics, Madison might well have decided to focus on factions as a way of beginning his own case while appearing to continue the argument set out in the previous essay.

[14] Suggestion: Compare factious behavior with the laws and cases on seditious behavior as it concerns threats to the public safety.

[15] The Constitution specifies in Article I, Section 2 that the number of representatives in the House of Representatives cannot be more than one for every 30,000 people. This means there cannot be two per 30,000, but there could be one per 100,000, reflecting the Framers' fear of localism. In 1929, Congress fixed the number of representatives at 435, and the ratio has steadily increased to one over 500,000. How does this compare with the ratios for your state legislature?

[16] Since the time of the ancient Greeks, political philosophers have focused on ambition (the desire to achieve something important) as the single most important motivation for entering the world of politics.

[17] It was common practice up to the Civil War to refer to the federal government as the "general" government, and the term has much to recommend it. It suggests a government of general scope, avoids the status element in the term "central" government, and nicely sidesteps the choice between "federal" and "national" government.

[18] Readers interested in identifying other occurrences of terms like "federal" and "national" i *The Federalist* can consult Thomas S. Engeman, Edward J. Erler, and Thomas B. Hofeller, eds., *The Federalist Concordance* (Middletown, CT, 1980), which lists all key words in their contextual occurrences.

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THE FEDERALIST SUMMARY

The ratification of the Constitution faced considerable ideological debate, both pro and con, among the states. Two groups, the Federalists and Anti-Federalists, were the main players who took the stage during these debates. The Federalists wanted adoption. They favored a strong national government that served the interests of the public. They included such members as James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay.

The Anti-Federalists did not want adoption, because they felt the Constitution gave too much power to the federal government. They felt power could be exercised better by the states, who were closer to the public and therefore safer. Their ranks included George Mason and Patrick Henry of Virginia and Luther Martin of Maryland.

Soon after the signing, the 'Anti's' bombarded the public with newspaper articles, mass meetings and pamphlets criticizing and challenging the idea of a federal republic. They feared a creation of a permanent aristocracy, criticized the lack of a bill of rights, and complained that power would lie with the few, instead of the many.

The Federalists countered these charges by defending the Constitution in a series of letters printed in New York newspapers, entitled *The Federalist*. Written under the pseudonym, "Publius," 85 letters appeared between October 1787 to May 1788. These defenders of the proposed Constitution were: Alexander Hamilton, 51 letters; James Madison, 29 letters; and John Jay, five letters.

The aim of *The Federalist* was to show that a return to the confederation would again lead to disunity and ineffective central government. They set out to prove that the Constitution would create a government that would preserve civil liberties and look after the various and differing interests of the 13 states. They stressed that the system of checks and balances, representation of the people, and the courts would improve the vision of the popular system of government. Argument was met with counter-argument, but when all was said and done the Constitution was finally ratified.

Upon ratification, the Federalists immediately took up some of the questions and complaints raised by the Anti-Federalists.

During the first session of Congress, Madison proposed and drafted a bill of rights. After more than 200 separate amendments offered by state ratifying conventions, only 10 were adopted. Madison's greatest legacy, The Bill of Rights, was added to the Constitution.

Reprinted from *A Resource Guide: Bicentennial of the Constitution*, Office of the Chief of Public Affairs, Department of the Army, 1987, p. 27.

CHAPTER VI

Ratification Quotations

RATIFICATION QUOTATIONS

"The best commentary on the principles of government which has ever been written."

- Thomas Jefferson
Commenting on *The Federalist*

"*The Federalist* ... is a complete commentary on our Constitution, and is appealed by all parties in the question to which that instrument has given birth. Its intrinsic value entitles it to its highest rank, and the part two of its authors performed in framing the Constitution put it very much in their power to explain the views with which it was framed."

- Chief Justice John Marshall

"*The Federalist* may fairly enough be regarded as the most authentic exposition of the text of the federal Constitution, as understood by the body which prepared and the Authority which accepted it."

- James Madison

"I know not, indeed, of any work on the principles of free government that is to be compared, in instruction and in intrinsic value, to this small and unpretending volume of *The Federalist*; not even if we resort to Aristotle, Cicero, Machiavelli, Montesquieu, Milton, Locke, or Burke. It is equally admirable in the depths of its wisdom, the comprehensiveness of its views, the sagacity of its reflections, and the fearlessness, patriotism, candor, simplicity, and elegance with which its truths are uttered and recommended."

- Chancellor James Kent

"Nothing is more certain than the indispensable necessity of Government, and it is equally undeniable, that whenever and however it is instituted, the people must cede to it some of their natural rights, in order to vest it with requisite powers."

- John Jay,
The Federalist Papers, 1787

"It seems to me, then, little short of a miracle, that the delegates from so many different States ... different in their manners, circumstances, and prejudices should unite in forming a system of national government. "

- George Washington
Letter to Marquis de Lafayette, 1788

"It is of great importance in a republic not only to guard the society against the oppression of its rulers, but to guard one part of the society against the injustice of the other part. If men were angels, no government would be necessary."

- James Madison,
The Federalist Papers, 1788

"I did myself the honor to forward to you the plan of Government formed by the Convention.... The public attention is, at present, wholly engrossed by this important subject. The Legislatures of those States (Rhode Island excepted) which have met since the Constitution has been formed, having readily asserted to its being submitted to a Convention chosen by the People. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware are the only States whose Conventions have as yet decided upon it. In the former it was adopted by 46 to 23 and in the latter two unanimously."

- George Washington
Letter to Thomas Jefferson
January 1, 1788

"The accession of one State more will complete the number, which by the Constitutional provision, will be sufficient in the first instance to carry the Government into effect."

- George Washington
Letter to Marquis de Lafayette
June 19, 1788

"I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency that the new Constitution proposed for the United States is finally established by the vote of nine states. New Hampshire acceded to it certainly on the 24th of June, and I have great reason to conclude that Virginia had done it some days before, in which case the vote of New Hampshire would be the tenth."

- Thomas Jefferson
Letter to Comte de Montmorin,
French Foreign Minister
July 30, 1788

"We exhibit at present the novel and astonishing Spectacle of a whole People deliberating calmly on what form of government will be most conducive to their happiness; and deciding with an unexpected degree of unanimity in favor of a System which they conceive calculated to answer the purpose.

It is only necessary to add for your satisfaction, that, as all the States, which have yet acted and which are ten in number, have adopted the proposed Constitution; and as the concurrence of nine States was sufficient to carry it into effect in the first instance. It is expected the government will be in complete organization and execution before the commencement of the ensuing year."

- George Washington
Letter to Sir Edward Newenham
August 29, 1788

"The example of changing a constitution by assembling the wise men of the state, instead of assembling armies, will be worth as much to the world as the former examples we had given them. The Constitution, too, which was the result of our deliberation, is unquestionably the wisest ever yet presented to men."

- Thomas Jefferson
Letter to David Humphreys
March 1789

"The American Constitution would have a tremendous rippling effect on the lives of the people of the 18th Century, but even more importantly it would impact on this country for the next 200 years, and it is the singular most important force that is impacting upon the world today."

- Secretary of the Army
John O. Marsh, Jr.
Constitution Presentation
Inspector Generals Conference
January 14, 1987

CHAPTER VII

Suggested Activities

SUGGESTED LIST OF PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES FOR COMMEMORATING THE BICENTENNIAL OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

(These projects and activities are not intended solely for military units or installations. With some modification, most can be utilized by civilian organizations and communities.)

1. Publish selected reviews, articles/excerpts from *The Federalist* Papers in unit bulletins or Command newspapers.

2. Food Service activities could serve a "Bicentennial" meal, featuring fare typical of Revolutionary War soldiers. Thanksgiving may be an appropriate time to show the sacrifices made by the citizen-soldier framers/ratifiers of the Constitution. Realism might be added if the meal were served in a field, rather than garrison, environment.

3. Individually or collectively reaffirm oath to protect and defend the Constitution. There are many appropriate occasions for this activity, such as promotion, re-enlistment, Armed Forces Day, Independence Day, Constitution Week, Yorktown Day, Service Birthdays and State Birthdays. An LOI is available to guide planning.

4. Either as a separate project or in conjunction with another, sign canvas or paper Constitution reproductions. Display prominently in unit area where all unit members and visitors can view it. For added significance, make the reproduction a permanent display; invite old unit members to visit and sign; and organize a small ceremony having new members sign. Remember to record the event with a camera. (Canvas reproductions are $65 each for an overall size of 54" wide x 10' to 12' long; Tyvx paper editions are $17.85 each).

5. Include in religious services, (during drill or annual training periods for Reserve Components), a tribute to the religious freedom guaranteed under the Constitution.

6. Plant a single tree (Constitution/Ratification Oak, Liberty Maple, Freedom Pine) or a Constitution Garden or a Constitution Grove as a living tribute to the Soldier-Statesman signers/ratifiers of the Constitution. This could be a unit activity, with plantings in the unit area or near an armory or reserve center. Additional plants could be added each year to commemorate an event meaningful to the unit (such as Arbor Day, Constitution Week, Yorktown Day, Armed Forces Day, Memorial Day, Flag Day, Independence Day, Veterans Day, Service Birthday or State Birthday.) This affords opportunity to include State/Local/City Park officials, National Park Service, or scout troops in a community-wide Constitutional tribute.

7. Include Constitution Bicentennial activities in planning of domestic action projects, in conjunction with local community.

8. During unit organization/boss/family day, or other unit celebration, selected unit members would be asked to explain to civilian guests/family members "What the Constitution means to me ... a citizen and a soldier (sailor, marine, airman, coast guardsman). "

9. Using a number of unit or civilian participants, conduct a "reading" of the Constitution.

10. Emphasize Bicentennial of the Constitution annual educational objectives during staff meetings, formations, professional development seminars, and commanders call, with: reading quotes, anecdotes, showing one of many films or videotapes available; or inviting speakers to address group.

11. Use posters and facsimile reproductions of photographs, documents or quotes to create a 'Constitution/Ratification Corridor,' 'Gallery of Freedom,' or 'Freedom Shrine' or other appropriately named display of freedom documents. (Available either through military publication centers or as low-cost purchase items).

12. Sponsor poster and essay contests on the ratification process, issues of debate, and other yearly Bicentennial themes.

13. Participate in state ratification celebrations (i.e., Statehood Day).

14. Encourage library displays of books on the Constitution, the ratification process, and other yearly Bicentennial themes. Distribute bookmarks with a Bicentennial message.

15. Include the Constitution in UCMJ briefings.

16. Identify state/local "Soldier-Statesmen" and include them in your Constitution and Ratification celebrations.

17. Community theaters and entertainment centers re-enact the signing of the Constitution or other period drama directly related to statehood and/or state history. Scripts, music and lyrics are available.

18. Release red, white, and blue balloons during special celebrations commemorating the Constitution, particularly during Constitution Week, (i.e., "Bells Across America" on 17 September of each year).

19. Make a Bicentennial/State Ratification Quilt. Get public affairs coverage, place it in museum, frame and display in library, or use as a fund raiser: raffle it off.

20. Bicentennial or State Ratification Cookbook: 200 Years (201, 202) of traditional American recipes.

21. Participate in local parades through a color guard or marching unit ... 23 representing the Soldier-Statesman signers of the Constitution ... or 200 representing our defense of freedom for 200 years ... or other symbolic number.

22. Include a display of DoD Bicentennial materials (educational materials that explain role of Soldier-Statesman signers) with static displays at malls and county fairs. Materials are available for this purpose.

23. Include Bicentennial references in speeches to internal (change of command, area schools, conferences) audiences as well as military associations and civilian audiences. Speech materials are available, as well as a booklet, *Blessings of Liberty: Quotations on the Constitution.*

24. A soldier in a Revolutionary War uniform adds a colonial touch to a ceremony. (Reserve Components: locate Revolutionary War replica uniforms and weapons which had

limited distribution during the 1976 Bicentennial. These assets were to have been entered on property books, with muskets stored in arms rooms. These may still be in public affairs offices, public affairs detachments, military history detachments, or installation museums. ARCOMs and some installations each received a set of four uniforms.)

25. Commands with bands could represent command by presenting pageants of music and narration to military and civilian audiences. Narrative portions could combine military and civilian guest participants. Concert program could include music popular during ratification era (18th century music and lyrics are in Appendix B of the Bicentennial of the Constitution Resource Guide). DoD service bands have arrangements which can be used by Reserve Component bands. Army and Air Force bands have produced audio tapes commemorating the Constitution Bicentennial.

26. Present soldier/sailor/airman/marine/coast guardsman of the quarter with a Bicentennial medallion or parchment replica of the Constitution (or other commemorative item related to Constitution) as part of recognition ceremony.

27. Designate representative to actively represent Command or unit on community or state bicentennial commission/committee. Reinforce military identity by wearing uniform during all contacts.

28. Host/sponsor mini lecture series if suitable location is available. Include a mix of military/civilian lecturers and guests. Food service section can advise legal method of using available assets to provide modest reception items.

29. Develop a "Constitution Trail" where cardiovascular exercises are combined with information on the Constitution and its adoption (for example, designate Bill of Rights/Amendment exercise stations).

30. Participate in community "fun run" with a symbolic entry, such as 23 representing the Soldier-Statesman signers of the Constitution. A race package is available which includes art and ideas on how to incorporate Bicentennial theme into any run.

31. Include Bicentennial messages on bulletin boards. A handout is available which offers ideas on creating displays with a Bicentennial theme.

32. Include the 1987-1991 DoD Bicentennial logo on agency/command letterhead, programs, and other appropriate publications.

33. Use a Bicentennial theme for events such as graduation ceremonies, festivals, balls, races and runs, and organization days.

34. Invite high school band to provide Bicentennial concert during Constitution Week.

35. Participate in DoD "Adopt-A-School" program, which offers an excellent opportunity for installations, armories and reserve centers to increase the awareness and understanding of the Armed Forces mission to provide for the common defense as stated in the Preamble.

36. Encourage installation youth organizations to participate in Bicentennial activities.

37. If overseas, invite host nation personnel to U.S. Constitution celebrations. Constitution translations are available in Arabic, French, Portuguese, and Spanish. U.S.

Embassies can provide some materials.

38. Many states have re-enactment units which set up a 'period' encampment. They are authentic recreations of period military camps, to include uniforms, civilian clothing, food, and way-of-life.

39. Locate descendants of signers of the Constitution, or descendants of prominent Soldier-Statesmen in your state. Include these people in your celebrations. Sources: Sons of the American Revolution, National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution, other patriotic organizations, Library of Congress, and public libraries.

40. Sponsor -- in conjunction with AUSA, ROA, or similar organization -- a trip to historic sites, or a Revolutionary War battlefield to learn about the sacrifices of our veterans and soldier-statesmen through history, or visit your state capitol to learn about the democratic process.

41. Include legal, religious, and journalist speakers in your Speakers Bureau and have them available to talk on various Constitutional freedoms.

42. Include a Bicentennial message with your mail. Fort Belvoir has developed four messages for use with a postage meter. [AV 345-6351; Commercial (703) 664-6351.]

43. Youth groups can raise money by selling automobile sun shades with a Bicentennial message, "Fort/Base/Ship _____ is proud to be a Bicentennial Defense Community."

44. Proclamation: publish a Proclamation in your installation newspaper during Constitution Week, and encourage community civilian newspaper to use Proclamation in support of military.

45. Fund raiser: bumper stickers which proclaim that "Fort/Base/Ship ____ is proud to be a Bicentennial Defense Community."

46. AFRTS outlets: trivia questions on the Constitution and Ratification with prizes given to first to call in (i.e., tickets to movie, a tape or record).

47. Place a time capsule with your State Constitution and Constitution Bicentennial Program to be opened during Constitution Tricentennial.

48. Installation cable or closed-circuit television can carry Bicentennial public service announcements.

49. Hold an autumn Colonial Craft Fair.

50. Sponsor voter registration drive.

51. Re-dedicate streets, buildings, trees, in honor of the Constitution, Ratification, Bill of Rights, or name of State/Federal personage.

52. An antique show could focus on colonial art, furniture, stemware, etc.

53. Make reaffirmation of the oath to support and defend the Constitution a tradition, either annually during Constitution Week, or at other significant times throughout the year.

54. Become a recognized Bicentennial Defense Community and fly the official Constitution Bicentennial Flag.

55. Paint fire plugs in Bicentennial colors (red, white, blue).

56. Dedicate basic training "yearbooks" to the Constitution.

57. Host a tournament for area high school debate teams on issues, such as "Right to Bear Arms-Bear Arms and Go to Jail," "Volunteer vs. Mandatory National Service," or "Federalist vs. Anti-Federalist Political Theories."

58. Include installation/command Constitution Bicentennial activities in official briefing.

59. Dedicate an Armory or Reserve Center to a Signer of the Constitution or other significant Soldier-Statesman in history.

60. Invite local elected officials, veterans, members of the judiciary, to speak on the Constitution.

61. Participate in "A Celebration of Citizenship" on 16 September each year during Constitution Week.

62. Participate in "Bells Across America" on 17 September each year during Constitution Week.

63. Conduct open houses with Constitutional exhibits.

64. Dedicate IDT/AT periods to a signer or the significant Soldier-Statesmen in history.

CHAPTER VIII

"How To" Guides:

- Oath Reaffirmation Ceremony
- Essay Contest
- Tree Planting Ceremony

SUBJECT: Oath Reaffirmation Ceremony - Letter of Instruction (LOI)

DISTRIBUTION AS NEEDED

1. Situation. In honor of an occasion/event: e.g., The Constitution, Armed Forces Day, Law Day, or Unit Organization Day, units are encouraged to hold a special Reaffirmation of the Oath of Allegiance to the United States.

2. General. This observance may be conducted on an appropriate date IAW this LOI. Although the event is voluntary in nature, participation by all personnel, military and civilian (including tenant activities), is strongly urged. The oath reaffirmation should be simultaneously administered to demonstrate the spirit of cooperation and fellowship that exists between all activities in their service to the nation and support of its Constitution.

3. Concept of Operation.

a. Post-wide observances should be simultaneously conducted at a date and time to permit all personnel the opportunity to voluntarily reaffirm their oath of allegiance to the United States of America.

b. The observances may be held outside on grounds adjacent to every unit, organization, activity, office or staff section. Each commander, director, activity chief, can determine where personnel will be assembled for the special observance. Sequence of events is at Encl 1.

c. Layout of parade field is at Encl 2.

d. Each individual should receive a special certificate commemorating their participation in the event.

e. A single cannon salute can be fired at time designated and commanders, directors, activity chiefs, can then administer the oath to all assembled personnel from their respective activities. The Commanding General, or his designated representative, should administer the oath to all personnel assembled on the Parade Field.

f. Although maximum participation is desired, there should be no disruption of essential activities including scheduled classes. Personnel not participating in the actual observances should continue in their normal duty assignments.

g. In the event of inclement weather, each commander, director, activity chief, should administer the oath within their respective activity building(s). The single cannon salute would still take place.

4. Responsibilities.

a. Commanders, directors, and activity chiefs should:

(1) Ensure that all civilian and military personnel assigned to their organization are informed of the special observance and allowed the opportunity to participate.

(2) Designate the oath reaffirmation site for their organization's personnel IAW the LOI provisions herein and administer oath to their personnel at the appointed time (and/or designate representatives to do the same).

(3) Provide a number count of participants from their respective organization to the ceremony project officer.

b. Other responsibilities to be designated based upon your particular situation.

(1) Units for participation in event on parade field.

(2) Marking of parade field.

(3) Ceremonial cannon, salute round, and gun crew

(4) PA System

(5) Invocation deliverer (Chaplain)
(6) Media coverage (before, during, and after event)
(7) Musical support
(8) Distribution of participation certification
(9) Traffic control

5. Additional Information.
For further information contact _____.

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

TIME	EVENT
	Movement of Troops to Parade Field
	Assembly Area
	Formation of Troops on Parade Field
	CG (or designated representative) Opening Remarks
	Invocation
	One Gun Salute
	Reaffirmation of Oath

Encl 1

THE CONSTITUTION BICENTENNIAL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TO ALL WHO SHALL SEE THESE PRESENTS, GREETING, KNOW YE THAT I _____ REAFFIRMING MY OBLIGATION TO SERVE MY COUNTRY, DO SOLEMNLY SWEAR THAT I WILL SUPPORT AND DEFEND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AGAINST ALL ENEMIES, FOREIGN OR DOMESTIC, AND THAT I WILL BEAR TRUE FAITH AND ALLEGIANCE TO THE SAME. I TAKE THIS OBLIGATION FREELY, WITHOUT ANY MENTAL RESERVATION OR PURPOSE OF EVASION.

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE BICENTENNIAL OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION, 1987-1991, HELD AT _____ THIS _____ DAY OF _____ IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD. ONE THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND _____.

UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION BICENTENNIAL ☆ 1787-1791 ☆ DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE ☆ 1987-1991

_____
Commanding General

_____
Official Administering Oath

_____
Participant's Signature

REAFFIRMATION OF OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

Time and Sequence of Events

D - Unit to their final positions on the parade field (the field will be marked off).

D + 1 - The Adj. directs - "BRING YOUR UNITS TO ATTENTION and PRESENT ARMS." Each Cdr, in sequential order, responds to the Adj 's directions.

- Once all units are at present arms, the Adj. faces about, executes present arms and reports to the Cdr of Troops -- "SIR, THE UNITS ARE FORMED."

- The Cdr of troops salutes and directs the Adj. to take his or her post. Once the Adj. has taken his or her position, the Cdr of troops commands -- "ORDER ARMS, PARADE REST." The Cdr of troops faces about and assumes the position of parade rest.

D + 5 - The announcer introduces the CG. "Ladies and gentlemen, please stand for the arrival of the CG." The CG and Chaplain move to review stand.

- The Cdr of troops comes to attention, faces about and commands "ATTENTION, PRESENT ARMS." The Cdr of troops faces about, executes present arms and reports to the CG -- "SIR, THE COMMAND IS FORMED."

- The CG and Cdr of troops exchange salutes.

- The Cdr of troops faces about and commands "ORDER ARMS, PARADE REST." The Cdr of troops faces about and assumes the position of parade rest.

D + 7 - The announcer introduces the Chaplain.

- The Chaplain gives invocation.

D + 9 - The announcer introduces the CG.

- The CG gives appropriate remarks.

D + 14 - Upon completion of remarks, the announcer states -- "Ladies and gentlemen, please stand for the firing of the ceremonial cannon and the administering of the Oath of Allegiance."

- The Cdr of troops comes to attention, faces about and commands "ATTENTION." The Cdr of troops faces about and assumes the position of attention.

D + 16 - The cannon is fired.

- The CG administers the Oath of Allegiance. "Ladies and gentlemen, will you please raise your right hand and repeat after me."

- All respond to the CG's instructions.

- Upon completion of the Oath, the CG will state "Ladies and gentlemen, please lower your right hand."

- The Cdr of troops faces about and commands -- "PARADE REST." The Cdr then faces about and assumes the position of parade rest.

- The CG of troops will give closing remarks. Once the remarks are completed, the CG will return to his original position on the reviewing stand.

- The Cdr of troops comes to attention, faces about and commands -- "ATTENTION." The Cdr faces about, executes present arms and reports to the CG -- "SIR, THIS CONCLUDES THE CEREMONY."

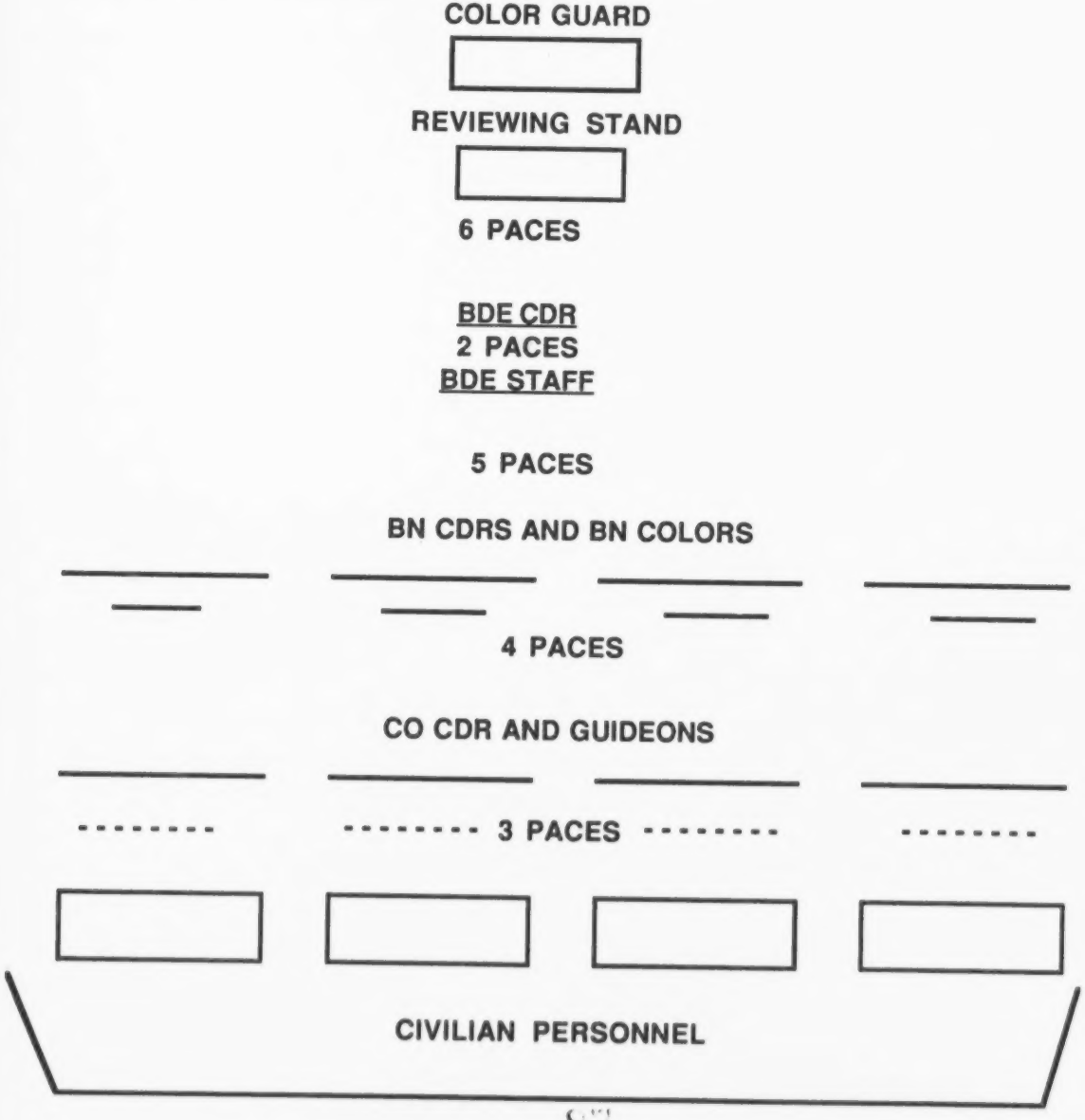
- The CG and Cdr exchange salutes.

- The CG and Chaplain face about and depart the reviewing stand.

- The Cdr of troops faces about and directs -- "COMMANDERS TAKE CHARGE OF YOUR UNITS."

- The Cdr of troops dismisses his staff and departs the parade field.

(SKETCH) REAFFIRMATION FORMATION



87

DRAFT CG REMARKS

I WANT TO WELCOME YOU TO A ONCE-IN-A-LIFETIME CEREMONY. ALL OF US WHO SERVE OUR COUNTRY, BOTH MILITARY AND CIVILIAN, TAKE AN OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO OUR COUNTRY WHEN WE ENTER SERVICE. TODAY WE HAVE THE UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO REAFFIRM THAT OATH.

THIS IS A MOST APPROPRIATE TIME TO RENEW OUR COMMITMENT TO OUR COUNTRY. THIS PAST SEPTEMBER 17 WAS THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF WHAT HAS BEEN CALLED "THE MOST PERFECT FEDERAL CONSTITUTION THAT EVER EXISTED." WE CELEBRATE THE BODY OF LAWS THAT ARE BUILT ON THIS MOST PERFECT OF CONSTITUTIONS.

IT ALSO IS SIGNIFICANT THAT WE ARE DOING THIS IN UNISON, NOT JUST ON THIS FIELD BUT ALL OVER POST, IN THE SPIRIT OF TEAMWORK AND COOPERATION THAT HAS MADE OUR COUNTRY AND OUR ARMED FORCES WORK FOR MORE THAN 200 YEARS. WE ARE DOING IT TOGETHER.

THE CONSTITUTION IS THE DEFENDER OF LIBERTY -- AND WE WHO SERVE IN AND WITH THE ARMED FORCES ARE THE DEFENDERS OF THAT CONSTITUTION. WHEN WE TAKE THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE, IT IS THE CONSTITUTION ITSELF THAT WE VOW TO SUPPORT AND DEFEND AND BEAR TRUE FAITH AND ALLEGIANCE TO.

BUT WE CANNOT EFFECTIVELY SUPPORT AND DEFEND THAT WHICH WE DO NOT UNDERSTAND. YOU HAVE ALREADY SHOWN, BY YOUR FIRST TAKING AND NOW REAFFIRMING YOUR OATH OF ALLEGIANCE, THAT YOU BELIEVE IN THE CONSTITUTION AS AN IDEA. I NOW CHALLENGE YOU TO STUDY THAT IDEA.

DR. LEONARD LEVY, AN HISTORIAN, SAID OF OUR RIGHTS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION THAT "THE ONE ESSENTIAL TO ALL THE REST, AND TO THE VERY IDEA OF SELF-GOVERNMENT ... IS INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM -- GUARANTEED IN THE CONSTITUTION AS FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS, ASSEMBLY AND RELIGION."

I CHALLENGE YOU TO EXERCISE INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM TO LEARN ABOUT OUR CONSTITUTION. BEGIN BY READING THE DOCUMENT. THEN READ THE STORY OF HOW THE DOCUMENT WAS CREATED AND THE STORIES OF THE MEN WHO CREATED IT. ATTEND BICENTENNIAL EVENTS IN THE AREA. READ, TALK, THINK. IT IS PART OF YOUR LEGACY AS AN AMERICAN.

AND NOW, LET US REAFFIRM OUR DETERMINATION TO PRESERVE THAT LEGACY BY TAKING IN UNISON THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE:

"TO ALL WHO SHALL SEE THESE PRESENTS, GREETING, KNOW YE THAT I, (state your name), REAFFIRMING MY OBLIGATION TO SERVE MY COUNTRY, DO SOLEMNLY SWEAR OR AFFIRM THAT I WILL SUPPORT AND DEFEND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AGAINST ALL ENEMIES, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, THAT I WILL BEAR TRUE FAITH AND ALLEGIANCE TO THE SAME. I TAKE THIS OBLIGATION FREELY, WITHOUT ANY MENTAL RESERVATION OR PURPOSE OF EVASION."

LET ME LEAVE YOU WITH WORDS SPOKEN BY PRESIDENT GROVER CLEVELAND ON THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONSTITUTION: "IF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE TRUE TO THEIR SACRED TRUST, ANOTHER CONSTITUTIONAL CENTENNIAL DAY WILL COME, AND MILLIONS YET UNBORN WILL INQUIRE CONCERNING OUR STEWARDSHIP AND THE SAFETY OF THEIR CONSTITUTION. GOD GRANT THAT THEY MAY FIND IT UNIMPAIRED."

I AM HAPPY TO REPLY TO PRESIDENT GROVER CLEVELAND'S WORDS THAT OUR CONSTITUTION HAS SURVIVED THESE YEARS UNIMPAIRED. IT IS NOW UP TO US AND TO OUR DESCENDANTS THAT THE SAME CAN BE SAID 100 YEARS FROM NOW.

SUBJECT: Essay Contest - Letter of Instruction (LOI)

DISTRIBUTION AS NEEDED

1. The critical element in the sponsorship of an essay contest is a specific, easily understood set of contest rules. The following items should be included:

a. Who is eligible to participate?
b. What is the contest question or topic?
c. Essay format (example: 300-500 words in length, typed, double-spaced).
d. Submission deadline and location.
e. Essay grading system (example: 100-point scale based upon content (50 points), clarity of thought (30 points), spelling/grammar (15 points), and neatness (5 points)).
f. Identify contest judges.
g. Awards to include participation recognition.
h. Only one submission per participant.
i. Submission must be the original work of the participant. Reference materials should be appropriately cited.

Depending upon the size of the community, sub-contests can be established as part of the overall contest. Instead of one submission per participant, you can limit to one submission per battalion or one per eighth grade history class. Also, awards can be provided to different age groupings. They also could go to the best submission from a service member, dependent, and civilian category. You are only constrained by your imagination, time availability, and awards for presentation.

2. Essay contest can be announced and publicized through public affairs networks, local media, post newspaper, commanders call.

3. Awards may include: US Savings Bonds of various denominations, four-day pass for service members, appropriate memento from Post or Base Exchange, plaque. Limited award mementos are also available through the DoD Bicentennial Office.

TREE PLANTING CEREMONIES: A LIVING HERITAGE

During the writing of the United States Constitution in 1787, Bartram's Garden in Philadelphia, founded by America's first recognized botanist, John Bartram, hosted a visit by Constitution Convention members. Together with George Washington, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin, William Bartram planted various species of trees. Some of those trees remain, a living legacy and reminder of the establishment of our Constitution.

Our Founding Fathers knew the value of plants. George Washington planted both trees and flowers at his estate, Mount Vernon. Similarly, Thomas Jefferson's home, Monticello, is still adorned by the gardens he established, which have since been restored. Many of the original trees planted by Washington and Jefferson survive today as "Living Legacies" to their love for plants and their respect for the beauty and bounty of nature.

As our Nation matured, so did its landscape, both in rural and urban areas. The old market squares of Europe became the town commons of New England and the Courthouse squares of the Midwest. The westward movement of wagon trains caused the prairies to give way to hedgerows and crops. In the arid West, barren lands were made productive by transporting precious water. Irrigation created new farmlands and made possible the planting of parks and gardens.

The flood of immigrants and the Industrial Revolution transformed cities, causing urban dwellers to lose touch with their rural heritage.

Recognizing this, Frederick Law Olmsted, the father of landscape architecture in the United States, designed city parks to provide beauty and respite from the pressures of city life.

Around the time of the Constitution's Centennial, many cities began to establish municipal gardens and parks, and the first National Parks were created to protect our great scenic wonders.

Today, some of the green oases created by earlier generations have been lost to development, and others are sadly neglected. Fortunately, many citizens and organizations have become actively involved in worthwhile projects to preserve and beautify our national landscape. The Bicentennial celebration provides a unique opportunity to enlist the great American spirit of public service by encouraging planting projects in communities that will become new "Living Legacies" to the United States Constitution.

The following examples show sequences of events and program copy for these commemorative tree planting ceremonies.

Sample Commemorative Ceremony Programs

For additional information on ideas for tree planting projects, area beautification projects, or special theme projects, contact the Department of Defense Bicentennial Office.

Commemorative Tree Planting Ceremony

Two centuries ago our Constitution, the document that established that the military would be the servant of the people, was signed. For 200 years the Armed Forces have taken their mission from the preamble, to provide for the common defense, and to help "secure the Blessings of Liberty for ourselves and our Posterity."

Today we commemorate the Bicentennial of our Constitution by planting a Constitution Oak with historic soil from the Yorktown Battlefield, Independence Hall Historical Park, and Cincinnati, Ohio. This tree, a living legacy, symbolizes the enduring strength and durability of the document we have sworn to protect and defend. It is a reminder of our Constitution, the freedom it guarantees, and the civic responsibilities—necessary to its preservation and vitality—shared by all members of The Armed Forces of the United States.

17 September 1987

The Pentagon
Washington, D.C.

CONSTITUTION OAK

TREE PLANTING CEREMONY

Ceremony Host

The Honorable James R. Ambrose
Under Secretary of the Army

Honored Guests

The Honorable William H. Taft IV
Deputy Secretary of Defense

General Arthur E. Brown, Jr.
Vice Chief of Staff

Sequence of Events

Pre-Ceremony Concert.....The United States Army Band
(Pershing's Own)

Arrival of Official Party

Presentation of Colors

Invocation

Tree Planting

Remarks

National Anthem

Conclusion of Ceremony

Music

Yorktown Day Tree Planting Ceremony

Two centuries ago our Constitution, the document that established that the military would be the servant of the people, was signed. For 200 years the Armed Forces have taken their mission from the preamble, to provide for the common defense, and to help "secure the Blessings of Liberty for ourselves and our Posterity."

Today we commemorate the 206th anniversary of the Army's victory at Yorktown by planting a Victory Oak. Yorktown served as a bridge between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. In 1776 brave men gathered together to declare our independence as a Nation. That declaration would have been empty without the resolve of dedicated people to give it meaning. From the Yorktown victory emerged a young Nation proud and free. Thus, the bridge was in place to carry Americans to a form of government unlike any other up to that time. The Constitution was the result. This oak is a living legacy honoring the courage and self-sacrifice given us by the victors of Yorktown.

19 October 1987

The Pentagon
Washington, D.C.

Yorktown Day
Tree Planting Ceremony

Ceremony Host

The Honorable John O. Marsh, Jr.
Secretary of the Army

Sequence of Events

Pre-Ceremony Concert
The Old Guard Fife and Drum Corps

Arrival of Official Party

Presentation of Colors

Invocation

Tree Planting

Remarks

Conclusion of Ceremony

Music

Commemorative Tree Planting Ceremony

On the 15th of June, 1215, the Magna Carta was sealed in this meadow. By their act that day, the assembled noblemen lay the groundwork essential to nourishing the ideals of Liberty and Justice. Little could they realize that their action would contribute, nearly six centuries later, to the writing and adoption of the United States Constitution. This oak tree, planted with soil brought from Jamestown, Virginia, the first permanent English settlement in the New World, commemorates the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution. It serves as well as a symbol of the common bond between the peoples of the United Kingdom and the United States. Today's tree planting commemorates and honors the values shared by the Magna Carta and the Constitution as we pledge ourselves to the preservation of their ideals and promise.

2nd December, 1987

Runnymede, England

Runnymede Oak - A Common Bond
2nd December, 1987
Runnymede, England

Ceremony Host

The Honorable John O. Marsh, Jr.

Honored Guests

Mr. Ian Stewart, MP
Minister of State for the Armed Forces

The Viscount Norwich
Member, National Trust Executive Committee

Mr. Raymond G. H. Seitz
Deputy Chief of Mission
United States Embassy, London

Sequence of Events

Arrival of the Official Party

Presentation of the Colors
(United States Marine Corps Color Guard)

Remarks by Secretary Marsh

Planting of the Runnymede Oak

Remarks by the Viscount Norwich

Remarks by Mr. Stewart

Remarks by Mr. Seitz

Retirement of the Colors

Conclusion of Ceremony

Departure of the Official Party

Commemorative Tree Planting Ceremony

Two hundred years ago, the United States Constitution was signed near this spot in Independence Hall. Forty signers, twenty-three of them with Revolutionary War service in either the militia or the Continental Army, were patriots and leaders in every sense of the word. By our symbolic act today, their accomplishments will not be forgotten by those of use who enjoy the fruits of their labors. The United States Army is pleased and proud to join the National Park Service in commemorating this most historic of events in the history of the United States of America.

The tree selected for today's ceremony is particularly fitting because of its symbolism. The oak symbolizes independence, strength, triumph and virtue. This Liberty Oak, a white oak, was selected from the battlefield at Yorktown, Virginia.

The victory achieved at Yorktown led to the negotiations that produced the 1783 Treaty of Paris, recognizing independence. Thus, Yorktown served as the bridge between an ideal and a reality, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. The Liberty Oak, a living legacy, is a tangible symbol of our heritage of freedom.

17 September 1987

Independence National Historical Park
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

BICENTENNIAL COMMEMORATIVE
TREE PLANTING CEREMONY

Independence National Historical Park
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

CEREMONY HOST

The Honorable John O. Marsh, Jr.
Secretary of the Army

CO-HOST

Major General Donald C. Hilbert
Commanding General
U. S. Army Military District of Washington

HONORED GUESTS

The Honorable William Penn Mott
Director
National Park Service

Mr. Hobart Cawood
Superintendent
Independence National Historical Park

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Pre-Ceremony Musical Program

Presentation of the Colors

Remarks ..... Secretary Marsh

Planting of the Liberty Oak

Introduction of Director Mott ..... Superintendent Cawood

Remarks ..... Director Mott

Retirement of the Colors

Conclusion of Ceremony

CHAPTER IX

Resource Materials

DoD RESOURCE MATERIALS

Many Constitution Bicentennial materials are available to assist local commemorative programs. Unless 'limited quantity' is specified, quantities are sufficient to meet reasonable requests, which will be honored on a 'first-come, first-served' basis. Write to: HQDA, SABC, Attn: Fulfillment Center, Pentagon, Room 3E524, Washington, D.C. 20310-0107. Telephone: AUTOVON 227-4673/5082; Commercial (202) 697-4673/5082.

- Resource Guides are excellent educational supplements.
- Pocket Constitutions are appropriate for both commemorative and educational purposes.
- Arabic, French, Portuguese (limited quantities), and Spanish translations of the Constitution are available.
- Soldier-Statesmen Pamphlets are excellent educational and commemorative items. The series consists of 23 eight-page pamphlets detailing the life and patriotic contributions of each Soldier-Statesman signer of the Constitution.
- *The Blessings of Liberty: Quotations on the Constitution* is a Pentagon Library publication containing 108 quotations relating to the Constitution. Included is a list of sources of the quotations and an index of persons quoted.
- DoD Poster, featuring an eagle on a blue background and the phrase 'Provide for the common defence - secure the Blessings of Liberty.'
- Bicentennial Brochures (limited quantity) are appropriate for commemorative occasions. The 9-1/2" x 6-1/8" brochure details the contributions of the Soldier-Statesman signers of the Constitution and lists them by state affiliations.
- Bicentennial Flyer discusses contributions of Soldier-Statesman signers of the Constitution. It can be used as handout for large group presentations. Size: 5-1/2" x 11"; buff in color.
- Presentation Folders (limited quantity) have inside pockets to hold pamphlets and brochures. They can be used to provide Bicentennial theme information for press kits or conferences.
- Pre-printed Bicentennial Programs (limited quantity) are four-color, 8-1/2" x 11", printed one side, and shipped flat. User must print insert and fold program. Suitable for concert, ceremony or other Bicentennial theme event.
- Sample Bicentennial Defense Community Application provides guidance on completing application to achieve official Bicentennial Defense Community status.
- Reaffirmation LOI provides guidance for a ceremony featuring unit reaffirmation of oath to defend the Constitution.
- LOI for Celebration of the Bicentennial of the Constitution developed by U.S. Army Transportation Center contains ideas on celebrations, many of which can be adapted for Reserve Component.

- Sample Proclamation honoring Constitution Bicentennial. Appropriate for command or civilian publications, particularly those near an installation, or those communities where Reserve Component units are located.

- Documents of Freedom antique parchment sets (limited quantity) contain transcripts of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, and the Bill of Rights. Sets are appropriate for presentation or framing.

- Ratification Brochure, available in May 1988, will focus upon ratification of the Constitution.

- Quizzes-Word Games (limited quantity). Developed by Second U.S. Army Public Affairs and other sources, the handout includes several word search/crossword puzzles and quizzes which test reader's knowledge of the Constitution.

- "Blessings of Liberty" Videotape (available for loan), developed by the National Park Service, captures the history and drama surrounding the writing of the Constitution. It includes the establishment of the three branches of government and the ratification of the Bill of Rights. It is available in VHS and 3/4" formats. It was distributed in August 1987 in 16mm format to major Army commands and each service. Running time is 18 minutes. May be locally reproduced.

- "We The People" Videotape (available for loan), a series of 40 one-minute presentations on all the signers of the Constitution, is intended to be shown on television. The series is also appropriate for schools or organizations in five-person segments. Available in VHS and 3/4" formats. May be locally reproduced.

- "America - The Land of the Free" Videotape/Slide-Talk Kit (available for loan) was developed to link into local patriotic celebrations. It depicts the role our founding fathers, 23 of whom were Revolutionary War veterans, played in shaping the Constitution. In addition to VHS and 3/4" video formats, a slide version is also available which includes 78 35mm slides, a printed script, and an audio tape. Running time is 14 minutes. May be locally reproduced.

- Stock Speeches/Reprints about the Constitution may be used as resources for developing speeches for internal or external audiences.

- Bicentennial "Defending the Constitution" Exhibit will travel throughout the United States during 1988 and 1989. The exhibit, which includes slide-tape and Soldier-Statesmen pamphlets, will visit significant military and civilian Constitution Bicentennial celebrations. Contact LTC Levy (AUTOVON 227-4673/5082; Commercial (202) 697-4673/5082) for information.

- Bicentennial Cassette "We the People". The United States Army Field Band has produced a promotional cassette to commemorate the Constitution Bicentennial. A special composition, "We the People," written by a member of the Field Band, is the featured musical selection. The cassette also has been made available for purchase by the general public at the National Archives gift shop in Washington, DC. (Officially recognized as a project of exceptional merit by National Commission).

- Constitution Race Packet. A race packet has been designed for use by all military organizations. The packet includes color samples of a race logo, race completion certificate, number to be worn by participants, start and finish banners, and kilometer posters with Bicentennial quotations. The packet is intended to serve as a guide for organizations wishing to incorporate a Constitution Bicentennial theme into annual runs or races; artwork is conceptual, not a final product. Military organizations are encouraged to join in sponsorship with civilian communities.

COMMEMORATIVE ITEMS

"We The People" Commemorative Lapel Pins

SOURCE: Brown & Bigelow Company
#7115
829 Berryville Avenue
Winchester, VA 22601

(703) 667-6345 Mr. Larry Park

DoD Logo Bookmarks

SOURCE: Design Master Associates, Inc.
P. O. Box 212
Williamsburg, VA 23187

(804) 220-4301 or 564-0234 Mr. Byron Whitehurst

DoD Bicentennial Medallions

SOURCE: Skylight Creative Ideas
1604 Churchville Road
Bel Air, MD 21014

(301) 879-8401 or 592-6041 Mrs. Connie Cosgrove

Constitution "We the People" Neckties
(Available in maroon and blue)

SOURCE: Project Constitution
Hampton Hall
200 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10001

(212) 685-2440

DoD Logo Lapel Pins

SOURCE: Custom Pin and Design
Box 1232
Lake Placid, NY 12946

(518) 523-2810 Mr. John H. Stevenson

Documents of Freedom Sets
(Also: single parchments and various historical documents)

SOURCE: Historical Documents Company
8 North Preston Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104

(215) 387-8076 Mr. Larry Weiss

Canvas/Coated Paper Constitutions
(10' to 12' long; space for signatures; suitable for display in public areas)

SOURCE: Emil Harley and Associates, Inc.
P. O. Box 184
Western Springs, IL 60558

(312) 246-5788 Mr. Kenneth Sitkowski

Official Bicentennial Flags
(only for Designated Bicentennial Defense Communities):

Annin Flag Company Blanchester, OH	(513) 783-2491
Collegeville Flag Company Fourth Avenue and Walnut Street Collegeville, PA 19426-5630	(800) 523-5630
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"Two Good and Noble Men"
(54-minute VHS cassette portraying Ratification debate between Ben Franklin and Patrick Henry)

SOURCE: "Two Good and Noble Men "
Box 721
Bountiful, Utah 84010

(801) 298-9650 Mr. Harmer

CHAPTER X

1988 Ratification Calendar

January 1988

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
					1 NEW YEAR'S DAY 1788—In *The Federalist No. 31*, Alexander Hamilton asserted that government should have the power to accomplish all tasks in its care and the responsibility to complete those tasks.	**2** 1788—The Georgia Convention adopted the Deed of Ratification which was signed by all 26 delegates.
3 1788—At the Connecticut Ratifying Convention, Oliver Ellsworth stated: "A more energetic system is necessary. The present system is merely advisory. It has no coercing power."	**4** 1788—In *The Federalist No. 34*, Hamilton reminded his readers of the expensive nature of national security, predicting the largest burden of future taxation would be born by the national government.	**5** 1788—In *The Federalist No. 35*, Hamilton stated, ". . . no part of the administration of government requires as much information and knowledge of political economy as the business of taxation."	**6** 1788—Christopher Gore apprised Rufus King of Samuel Adams' opposition to the Constitution and of the general support of the Boston tradesmen for the Constitution.	**7** 1788—The *Connecticut Courant* published Roger Sherman's "Observations on the New Federal Constitution" which defended the Constitution against many objections.	**8** 1788—George Washington wrote Virginia Governor Randolph: ". . . in the aggregate it is the best constitution that can be obtained at this epoch, and that this, or a dissolution of the Union, awaits our choice."	**9** 1788—Connecticut ratified the Constitution by a vote of 128 to 40. 1788—The Massachusetts Ratifying Convention opened.
10 1788—James Madison wrote Edmund Randolph that "the multiplied inducements at this moment to the local sacrifices necessary to keep the states together, can never be expected to coincide again."	**11** 1788—In *The Federalist No. 37*, James Madison stated that in the Constitution, there is "a finger of the Almighty hand which has been seen so frequently and signally extended to our relief."	**12** 1788—In *The Federalist No. 38*, James Madison stated that all agree America is in need of a cure for her ills, but the opponents of the Constitution cannot agree on a satisfactory remedy.	**13** 1788—Samuel Blach[illegible] Webb wrote to Joseph Ba[illegible]ell: ". . . a dampness is thrown on our spirits by information that the Convention of Massachusetts is much divided."	**14** 1788—Charles Johnson wrote James Iredell: "*The Federalist* appears to me to be elegantly written; the author displays a most comprehensive imagination, and great extent of political knowledge."	**15** 1788—Addressing the Massachusetts Convention, Fisher Ames stated that a representative's term of office should be limited so as to insure his public's best interest.	**16** 1788—After observing those who declined to sign the Constitution, Tench Coxe wrote: ". . . it is improbable that another Convention would unite in the same degree in any plan."
17 1788—*Brutus IX* appeared in the *New York Journal*, questioning the new Constitution over the issue of maintaining a standing army in times of peace.	**18** MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. DAY 1788—George Washington wrote about Georgia's ratification: ". . . if a weak state . . . does not incline to embrace a strong general Government, there must be wickedness or insanity in their conduct . . ."	**19** 1788—In *The Federalist No. 41*, James Madison addressed the question of the sum and distribution of power vested in the government under the Constitution.	**20** 1788—James Madison wrote George Washington concerning Madison's fears that Massachusetts might reject the Constitution.	**21** 1788—In the Massachusetts Convention, Fisher Ames observed that Art. I, sec. 4 was not objectionable because if such a motion was brought forth, the representatives would defeat it.	**22** 1788—In *The Federalist No. 42*, James Madison stated, "If we are to be one nation in any respect, it clearly ought to be in respect to other nations . . ."	**23** 1788—Tench Coxe arguing for the maintenance of state sovereignty wrote, "Consolidation is the great Object of Apprehension in New York."
24 1788—*Brutus X*, published in the *New York Journal*, argued personal liberties "are in danger from a large standing army because the leaders may use them to usurp power or the army may subvert the government."	**25** 1788—Madison wrote to George Washington concerning Edmund Randolph's arguments for withholding his signature from the Constitution.	**26** 1788—In reference to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, John Jordan wrote John Nicholson: "The new Constitution has a great many cordial enemies in this place."	**27** 1788—Charles Tillinghast wrote: "The Federalists have their doubts whether Massachusetts will adopt the new Constitution . . . they say, if that state does not, it will never take place."	**28** 1788—John Brown of Kentucky wrote: "The fate of the new Constitution becomes every day more precarious. The hope of its succeeding is the only prop which at present supports the Federal Government."	**29** 1788—In *The Federalist No. 46*, James Madison demonstrated the abilities of the states to withstand the "ambitious encroachments of the federal government."	**30** 1788—In *The Federalist No. 47*, James Madison discussed the true meaning of the maxim that "the legislative, executive, and judiciary departments ought to be separate and distinct."
31 1788—*Brutus XI*, published in the *New York Journal*, argued that the power of the judicial branch to explain the Constitution as to its meaning "will enable them to mould the government, into almost any shape . . ."						

February 1988

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	1 1788—The New York legislature voted to call a State Ratifying Convention. 1788—The New Jersey form of Ratification was delivered to the Confederation Congress.	**2** 1788—Thomas Jefferson wrote to William Stephens Smith stating his desire that the Constitution not only be ratified, but also have an accompanying declaration of rights.	**3** 1788—Rufus King wrote Henry Knox that John Hancock was promised Federalist support for Governor of Massachusetts if Hancock would use his influence among wavering delegates.	**4** 1788—The *Connecticut Courant* published an extract purportedly from a private letter claiming that if the Constitution were adopted, George Washington would be President and John Hancock Vice-President.	**5** 1788—James Winthrop's "Agrippa" stated that failure to amend the Constitution prior to ratification would lead to the argument that it would "then be the Constitution of our country, and entitled to defense."	**6** 1788—The Massachusetts Convention ratified the Constitution, 187 to 168.
7 1788—Concerning the Constitution, George Washington wrote Lafayette: "The general government is not invested with more powers than are indispensably necessary to perform the functions of a good government . . ."	**8** 1788—Boston held a ratification parade highlighted by "The Federal Constitution", a ship drawn through the snow-covered streets by thirteen horses.	**9** 1788—The *New York Journal* reported that the Antifederalist cause in the Connecticut Convention had been greatly weakened by the defection of William Williams of Lebanon and Joseph Hopkins of Waterbury.	**10** 1788—Edward Carrington wrote that William Ronald at first opposed the Constitution "in terms that would be taken for absolute . . .," but he was determined "to do nothing which may . . . endanger the union."	**11** 1788—James Manning wrote to the Rev. Dr. Smith that had the Constitution lost in Massachusetts, it would never be ratified because the Massachusetts outcome would have an effect where Antifederalists were strong.	**12** 1788—In *The Federalist No. 54*, Madison argued that "the establishment of a common measure for representation and taxation will have a very salutary effect" and he justified the counting of a slave as three-fifths of a person.	**13** 1788—The New Hampshire Ratifying Convention opened. Josiah Bartlett was chosen as chairman of the proceedings.
14 1788—Writing as Brutus, Robert Yates argued, "The Supreme Court under this Constitution, would be exalted over all other power in the government, and subject to no control."	**15** WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY (OBSERVED) 1788—Delegates of the New Hampshire Ratifying Convention debated the Constitution, first reading each article, then discussing it.	**16** 1788—In *The Pittsburgh Gazette*, William Findley attacked the proposed Constitution: "Sober-minded citizens . . . will not be intimidated . . . nor will they expect magical winds."	**17** 1788—David Stuart wrote George Washington that George Mason had declared he would attend the Virginia Ratifying Convention only if elected a delegate from Fairfax County.	**18** 1788—J. Dawson wrote James Madison: "The people of Stafford County have signed a petition urging George Mason to represent them at the Virginia Ratifying Convention."	**19** 1788—James Madison wrote Thomas Jefferson that he feared Patrick Henry's influence would spread to North Carolina, also placing the Constitution in jeopardy there.	**20** 1788—Governor George Handley sent copies of the proceedings and the journals of the Georgia Ratifying Convention to the Governors of the other states.
21 1788—James Madison wrote Edmund Pendleton: "The question on which the proposed Constitution must turn is the simple one, whether the Union shall or shall not be continued."	**22** 1788—In *The Federalist No. 59*, Alexander Hamilton stated, ". . . every government ought to contain in itself the means of its own preservation."	**23** 1788—In *The Federalist Nos. 59 and 60*, Alexander Hamilton disputed the contention that Congressional control over election regulations would lead to the elevation of the "wealthy and well-born."	**24** 1788—Caleb Gibbs wrote George Washington that Federalists in New Hampshire had deliberately employed a delaying strategy to allow more time to convince a majority to support the Constitution.	**25** 1788—Alexander Hamilton and Leonard Gansevoort became the first New York delegates to attend the Confederation Congress of 1788.	**26** 1788—Madison wrote George Washington that, "In New Hampshire the opposition is composed of the same characters as that of Massachusetts, and is contrasted to all the wealth, abilities, and respectability of the state."	**27** 1788—"The Impartial Examiner" in the *Virginia Independent Chronicle* claimed, "By far the greater part of the different nations, who have fallen from the glorious state liberty, owe their ruin to standing armies."
28 1788—Benjamin Rush wrote Jeremy Belknap that he "pants for the time when the establishment of the new government shall excuse men like himself who wish only to be passengers from performing the duty of sailors . . ."	**29** 1788—Edmund Randolph wrote James Madison: "The decision of Massachusetts, had it been adverse to the Constitution, would have damned it here."					

March 1988

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
		1 1788—The Rhode Island legislature called for a statewide referendum on the Constitution to be conducted on March 24.	**2** 1788—George Washington wrote James Madison "The decision of Massachusetts . . . is a severe stroke to the opponents of the proposed Constitution in this state . . ."	**3** 1788—Virginia began to hold elections to select delegates to the State Ratifying Convention.	**4** 1788—David Sewall wrote George Thatcher that there was no doubt that the Antifederalists lacked the talent to express their objections effectively, but the Federalists were fully capable of arguing away criticisms.	**5** 1788—The *Freeman's Journal* speculated that powers given to Congress would never be relinquished for "people once possessed of power are always loathe to part with it."
6 1788—Nicholas Gilman wrote about the reaction to the New Hampshire Convention adjournment that "this unfortunate affair will at least give a temporary spring to the opposition . . ."	**7** 1788—New York Governor George Clinton received a letter dated December 27, 1787 from Edmund Randolph conveying the sense of the Virginia legislature favoring communications between the states regarding the Constitution.	**8** 1788—A letter signed "Philadelphiensis", probably by Benjamin Workman, asked, ". . . who is so dimsighted as to suppose that a Constitution so differing from the principles of the revolution and freedom could be established in America?"	**9** 1788—The new Constitution met strong opposition in the House because amendments were not made a condition of ratification. Phanuel Bishop maintained that "they neither comport with the dignity or safety of the commonwealth."	**10** 1788—George Washington wrote Benjamin Lincoln: "The growing attachment of the people in your state to the proposed Constitution is certainly a strong proof of its general excellence."	**11** 1788—In *The Federalist No. 67*, Alexander Hamilton refuted the frivolous misrepresentations concerning the President's power of appointment under the proposed Constitution.	**12** 1788—A Richmond newspaper chided George Mason stating, "As for Mr. Mason, poor old man, he appears to have worn his judgment entirely threadbare and ragged in the service of his country."
13 1788—Edward Carrington wrote Henry Knox: "The decision of Massachusetts is perhaps the most important that ever took place in America, as upon her, in all probability, depends the fate of the Constitution."	**14** 1788—A political broadside was circulated in the City and County of Albany, New York proposing a Federalist slate of candidates for the New York General Assembly and the New York Ratifying Convention.	**15** 1788—In *The Federalist No. 69*, Alexander Hamilton explained the Presidency by using a comparison between the President and the King of Great Britain.	**16** 1788—William Widgery wrote George Thatcher and said, ". . . the people of Maine are quiet."	**17** 1788—An article in the *Newport Mercury* saw the willingness of the Dutch to loan America money as an indication that America was in no danger of bankruptcy.	**18** 1788—In *The Federalist No. 70*, Alexander Hamilton argued for a single Executive because "the executive power is more easily confined when it is *one*."	**19** 1788—In *The Federalist No. 72*, Alexander Hamilton addressed the question of a President's eligibility for successive terms in office.
20 1788—Robert Yates, writing as "Brutus", questioned ". . . whether the world ever saw, in any period of it, a court of justice invested with such immense powers, and yet placed in a situation so little responsible."	**21** 1788—Luther Martin responded to Oliver Ellsworth's attacks in "The Letters of a Landholder" that if the framing and approving of the Constitution "is a proof of knowledge in the science of government I not only admit, but I glory in my ignorance."	**22** 1788—The first volume of *The Federalist Papers* was published.	**23** 1788—Nicholas Gilman wrote John Sullivan that had Patrick Henry and George Mason been "removed to the regions of darkness . . . a new system of government would have been adopted . . ."	**24** 1788—By referendum, Rhode Island voters rejected the Constitution, 2,711 to 239.	**25** 1788—In *The Federalist No. 74*, Alexander Hamilton discussed the powers of the President in regard to his command over the national forces and pardoning powers.	**26** 1788—In *The Federalist No. 75*, Alexander Hamilton discussed the treaty making procedures outlined in the Constitution.
27 1788—Deacon Winn of Woburn, Massachusetts wrote in the *Independent Chronicle* that Americans had fought against the "iron yoke of British bondage," but were now "bending our necks to as heavy a one of our own make."	**28** 1788—North Carolina elected delegates to the State Ratifying Convention.	**29** 1788—The *Daily Advertiser* of Charleston, South Carolina claimed that thirty-nine fortieths of the New Yorkers favored adoption of the proposed Constitution.	**30** 1788—George Washington wrote Henry Knox that the New Hampshire adjournment had injured the Federal cause by showing the people of Virginia that the Constitution was not as popular "as they had been taught to believe."	**31** 1788—Enoch Perkins wrote Simeon Baldwin: "The political world seems to be very still with us—I do not hear of any electioneering."		

April 1988

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
					1 1788—In *The Federalist No. 76*, Alexander Hamilton supported the presidential nomination of officials with the advice and consent of the Senate.	**2** 1788—Washington expressed fear to John Langdon that the Federal cause had been damaged since people now saw that the Constitution was not as popular "as they had been taught to believe."
3 1788—Alexander Hamilton wrote James Madison expressing regret that he would be too involved in what remained to be done to finish *The Federalist Papers*.	**4** 1788—In *The Federalist No. 77*, Alexander Hamilton answered the question, "...does the executive department combine the requisites to safety—a due dependence on the people, a due responsibility?"	**5** 1788—John Collins wrote the President of Congress that many of the Constitution's supporters had refused to vote on the Constitution in Rhode Island as a protest against the referendum.	**6** 1788—Francis Hopkins wrote Thomas Jefferson that a Pennsylvania group opposed the establishment of a federal government and "such arguments as would stand with equal force against every or any proposed Government."	**7** 1788—The *Connecticut Courant* reported that in some towns in Rhode Island, the Federalists refused to even cast a vote when their towns held a referendum on the Constitution.	**8** 1788—James Madison wrote George Nicholas that George Mason's activities and campaign in Stafford County "will neither add to the dignity of his character; nor I should hope, to the success of his cause."	**9** 1788—The New York *Daily Advertiser* reported that the proposed Constitution would be rejected in the state of Rhode Island.
10 1788—The *Albany Manifesto* was circulated in Albany County, New York summarizing a case against the Constitution and urging the election of anti-Constitution delegates to the state convention.	**11** 1788—"Philadelphiensis" asked in *The Independent Gazetteer* that "another Convention be immediately called and let a system of government fitted to the pure principles of the Revolution, be framed."	**12** 1788—South Carolina concluded the election of delegates to the State Ratifying Convention.	**13** 1788—Sam Smith wrote Tench Coxe: "You may be assured there is not a state in the union more truly Federal than Maryland."	**14** 1788—The *Connecticut Courant* reported that Lowndes, a House Representative from South Carolina, said, "When this new Constitution became of force, the sun of the southern states was never to rise again."	**15** 1788—The *Salem Mercury* reported in a Virginia dispatch that "six states have adopted the Constitution, and, those in which are included, after our own, the two largest states in the union, already make a majority of the free people of America."	**16** 1788—In a letter to James Madison, George Lee Turberville wrote in reference to the proposed Constitution: "The checks are so ingeniously interposed between the rulers and the citizens as to leave all power in the hands of the people."
17 1788—The *U.S. Chronicle* in Providence, R.I. presented an article, supposedly from Richmond, Va., claiming that the Virginia Convention would have scarcely ten men who would differ with the great and good patriots in America.	**18** 1788—Don Diego de Gardoqui wrote: "The moment cannot be better . . . in view of the variety of opinions and treachery against the new government, which if not ratified may end in confusion or, better, in two confederacies."	**19** 1788—The New York *Daily Advertiser* reported that the returns for the Virginia State Convention are such "as will ensure the adoption of the Constitution in this state, by a decided majority."	**20** 1788—George Washington wrote: "I have but one public wish remaining. It is, that in peace and retirement, I may see this country rescued from the danger which is pending."	**21** 1788—The Maryland Ratifying Convention opened in the State House at Annapolis.	**22** 1788—James Madison wrote Thomas Jefferson that the majority of the people in the Tidewater and Northern Neck regions of Virginia supported the Constitution, while those of the Central Piedmont and the Southside opposed it.	**23** 1788—The Constitution was first read to the delegates at the Maryland Ratifying Convention.
24 1788—Edward Carrington predicted to Thomas Jefferson that if New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify the Constitution, it would have a great effect on Virginia.	**25** 1788—Delegates to the Maryland Ratifying Convention rejected a series of amendments proposed by William Paca to accompany ratification of the Constitution.	**26** 1788—The Maryland Convention ratified the Constitution, 63 to 11.	**27** 1788—George Washington wrote James McHenry warning him that if Maryland failed to ratify the Constitution, it would be defeated in Virginia, and therefore, forever.	**28** 1788—George Washington wrote Lafayette concerning the presidency: "I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the services of any man, who on some great emergency shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public."	**29** 1788—New York began the election of delegates to the State Ratifying Convention.	**30** 1788—In New York, broadsides circulated responding to the Antifederalist charge that the battle for ratification was a matter of rich versus poor by pointing out the number of lawyers among Antifederalist candidates and, more specifically, Governor Clinton's wealth.

May 1988

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
1 1788—George Mason wrote John Francis Mercer: "... I think the Convention of Virginia will be so equally divided, that no man can at present form a judgement of what may be the determination."	**2** 1788—Thomas Jefferson wrote George Washington on the reeligibility of the President: "I was much an enemy to monarchy before I came to Europe. I am ten thousand times more so since I have seen what they are."	**3** 1788—The New York *Daily Advertiser* reported that Maryland has adopted the Constitution and that "tomorrow we will have a grand procession on this happy event ..."	**4** 1788—In a letter to Samuel Blachley Webb, Joseph Barrell wrote: "I wish exceedingly your state [N.Y.] may adopt the New Constitution with a good Grace, for do it they must, by fair means or foul."	**5** 1788—Pierce Butler wrote Weeden Butler that at the Constitutional Convention, the doubts of some were soothed by the knowledge that George Washington would be elected to the proposed presidency.	**6** 1788—Peleg Arnold became a Rhode Island delegate to the Confederation Congress. He would remain until August 7, when he departed during the debate over the location of the new federal government.	**7** 1788—Richard Henry Lee wrote George Mason suggesting that a private meeting take place before the Virginia Ratifying Convention of those wishing to offer amendments to the Constitution.
8 1788—Governor George Clinton of New York wrote Virginia Governor Edmund Randolph proposing a joint conference to demand that amendments be a precondition to ratification of the Constitution.	**9** 1788—The *Massachusetts Gazette* reported that the Maryland Convention assented to the Constitution by a majority and, on the following day, ratified the Constitution.	**10** 1788—Nathaniel Pendleton wrote of the urgent need for a strong government capable of repelling the Indians who, at that time, were spreading terror throughout Georgia.	**11** 1788—Alexander Hamilton wrote James Madison: "The elections are now over in this state [NY], but the result is not known. All depends upon Albany where both sides claim a victory ..."	**12** 1788—The South Carolina Ratifying Convention opened in the Hall of the Exchange at Charleston.	**13** 1788—The South Carolina Ratifying Convention chose Governor Thomas Pinckney (brother of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, signer of the Constitution) as its president.	**14** 1788—Charles Pinckney argued that despite varied backgrounds, the delegates to the Federal Convention had developed a plan of government which would create a union.
15 1788—James Wilkinson wrote the Governor of New Orleans that before Kentucky could be incorporated into the Union as a state, a convention must meet and declare it wholly sovereign and independent.	**16** 1788—An editorial in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advisor* stated, "I have much satisfaction in informing you, that the laws constituted by the Federal Convention, have made great noise in Europe."	**17** 1788—The *New Hampshire Spy*, in reference to the Constitution, reported, "Everyone appears to be affected. Those who wish the adoption of the plan consider its rejection as the source of endless contests and misfortunes."	**18** 1788—John Lamb, an associate of New York Governor George Clinton, urged George Mason to join in a concerted Antifederalist strategy of conditional ratification.	**19** 1788—Hamilton wrote Madison hoping for ratification by New York stating that one chance will be "a change in the sentiments of the people which have been for sometime traveling towards the Constitution."	**20** 1788—At the South Carolina Ratifying Convention, Charles Pinckney stated that Art. 1, Sec. 10 was "the soul of the Constitution."	**21** 1788—General Thomas Sumter moved to adjourn the South Carolina Ratifying Convention until October for "further consideration."
22 1788—Richard Henry Lee wrote Edmund Pendleton suggesting a plan for obtaining amendments to the Constitution, but emphasizing amendments supporting civil liberties.	**23** 1788—The South Carolina Convention ratified the Constitution, 149 to 73.	**24** 1788—Floridablanca wrote: "Our idea is to attract the inhabitants of the Ohio and Mississippi region to our devotion ... by union with their dominions under pacts which assure their liberty."	**25** 1788—George Washington wrote Richard Dobbs Spaight: "A majority of the members are in favor of the Constitution, but as they are soon to speak their own sentiments it would be imprudent to anticipate them."	**26** 1788—Mason wrote Jefferson on the question of ratifying the Constitution, then proposing amendments: "... this idea appears to me so utterly absurd, that I can not think any Man of Sense candid in proposing it."	**27** 1788—The Federal Procession in Charleston, S.C., featured the *Federalist*, an allegorical ship of state drawn by eight white horses each bearing the name of a state that had ratified the Constitution.	**28** 1788—Washington wrote Lafayette: "A few short weeks will determine the political fate of America [and probably influence] the happiness of society through a long succession of ages to come."
29 1788—The Boston *Independent Chronicle* reported that, "... not withstanding the opposition to the federal government in one or two counties, there is no doubt of its being adopted by North Carolina."	**30** MEMORIAL DAY 1788—John Armstrong Jr. wrote Horatio Gates: "... my creed as to popular governments is very much changed under a little experience of their operation ... you must find them on experiment both foolish and feeble."	**31** 1788—The *New Hampshire Spy* gave the false report that a majority of twenty was expected to support ratification of the Constitution at the North Carolina Convention.				

June 1988

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
			1 1788—The last of the delegates arrived in Richmond in preparation for the Virginia Ratifying Convention.	2 1788—The Virginia Ratifying Convention opened in the temporary capitol building at Cary and Fourteenth Streets in Richmond.	3 1788—The Virginia Ratifying Convention moved to the more spacious accommodations of New Academy Hall to allow spectators to witness the proceedings.	4 1788—James Madison wrote George Washington noting that Edmund Randolph "has declared the day of previous amendments passed and thrown himself fully into the federal scale."
5 1788—Patrick Henry stated: "It is said eight states have adopted this plan, I declare that if twelve states and a half had adopted it, I would, with manly firmness, and in spite of an erring world, reject it."	6 1788—Edmund Randolph presented a strong defense of the Constitution to the Virginia Ratifying Convention's Committee of the Whole.	7 1788—Patrick Henry took the floor at the Virginia Ratifying Convention, attacking Edmund Randolph for his inconsistencies and demanding to know why he now favored ratification.	8 1788—Edmund Randolph stated, "I was . . . thoroughly persuaded that the salvation of the people of America depended on an intimate and firm union."	9 1788—Patrick Henry wrote John Lamb that he believed a majority of Virginians were opposed to the Constitution.	10 1788—James Monroe addressed the Virginia Convention: ". . . to commend where the subject appears to me to deserve commendation; to suggest my doubts where I have any; to hear with candor the explanation of others . . ."	11 1788—Joshua Atherton wrote that to ratify first and hope for amendments would be "to surrender our all, and then to ask our new masters, if they will . . . return to us some, or any part of our most important rights . . ."
12 1788—At the Virginia Ratifying Convention, William Grayson argued that the Northern States might wish to relinquish the Mississippi to Spain to "preserve their superiority and influence over the Southern States."	13 1788—At the Virginia Ratifying Convention, Patrick Henry objected to the motion by George Nicholas to have a clause by clause discussion of the proposed Constitution.	14 1788—Edmund Pendleton wrote that, though he favored ratification of the Constitution, he thought amendments should accompany Virginia's approval.	15 1788—In a letter to George Washington, Rochambeau wrote, "I see with great satisfaction that your confederation is to take a solid and respectable form, and you are going to be at its head . . ."	16 1788—George Nicholas observed that the "necessary and proper" clause gave Congress only the means of implementing the enumerated powers for paying public debts and providing for the national defense.	17 1788—The New York Ratifying Convention convened in Poughkeepsie.	18 1788—The New Hampshire Ratifying Convention reconvened for a second session.
19 1788—George Washington wrote Richard Henderson: ". . . America, under an efficient government, will be the most favorable country of any in the world for persons of industry and frugality . . ."	20 1788—Alexander Hamilton addressed the New York Ratifying Convention stating that he believed the weaknesses of the country to be real, ". . . yet however weak our country may be, I hope we shall never sacrifice our liberties."	21 1788—The New Hampshire Convention ratified the Constitution, 57 to 47.	22 1788—In a race to beat Virginia as the ninth state, Tobias Lear reported the outcome of the New Hampshire Convention to George Washington: "The Constitution was ratified on Saturday . . ."	23 1788—The Virginia Ratifying Convention finished its section by section debate of the Constitution and took up the question of the timing of suggested amendments.	24 1788—The news of New Hampshire's ratification of the Constitution reached the New York Ratifying Convention at Poughkeepsie.	25 1788—The Virginia Convention ratified the Constitution, 89 to 79.
26 1788—In a federal procession at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, "the Ship Union" was elevated on a carriage drawn by nine horses (a tenth representing Virginia was completely harnessed and ready to join the rest).	27 1788—Alexander Hamilton stated at the New York Ratifying Convention, ". . . the true principle of government is to make the system complete in structure . . . and the powers you give it will never affect your security."	28 1788—At the New York Ratifying Convention, Hamilton stated, ". . . [constitutions] must necessarily be permanent, and that they cannot calculate for the possible change of things."	29 1788—Thomas Willing thanked William Bingham for the good news of New Hampshire's Ratification adding that now the question in Virginia is ". . . will Virginia form a part of the Union, or not?"	30 1788—Robert Yates conceded that Hamilton's plan did not appear to be for a "total extinguishment of the state governments, but only to deprive them of the means of impeding the operations of the Union."		

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July 1988

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
					1 1788—Timothy Bloodworth assured John Lamb that the proposed New York amendments would meet with the approval of North Carolina Antifederalists who were "actuated by similar motives."	**2** 1788—The New Hampshire ratification was read in Congress; Congress appointed a committee to report on ways to implement the new Constitution.
3 1788—John Brown of Frankfort presented Virginia's petition on behalf of Kentucky Statehood to the Confederation Congress. Action on the petition was postponed due to the adoption of the Constitution.	**4** INDEPENDENCE DAY 1788—The city of Philadelphia celebrated Independence Day with a Federal Procession that ended on Union Green and involved eighty-eight units.	**5** 1788—John Jay wrote his wife that news of the Virginia Ratification had been received by both Federalists and Antifederalists in Poughkeepsie, N.Y. with jubilation and much celebration.	**6** 1788—Concerning the Constitution, Thomas Lee Shippen wrote Thomas Jefferson: "I join with you sir in praying with all my heart that the remaining states accept it."	**7** 1788—The *Connecticut Courant* reported a meeting of the Society of Cincinnati in Hartford which ended with the reading of a letter "announcing the ratification of the new Constitution by the State of Virginia."	**8** 1788—Although Marylander John Mercer was accused of sedition against the new Constitution, George Mason wrote that Mercer had communicated no such ideas to him or the Virginia Ratifying Convention.	**9** 1788—Benjamin Rush wrote that during the Philadelphia "Federal Procession", the Constitution was carried by Pennsylvania Chief Justice Thomas McKean "to denote the elevation...of law and justice above everything else..."
10 1788—With the appearance of Delaware delegates Dyre Kearney and Nathaniel Mitchell, all of the states which had ratified the Constitution were represented in the Confederation Congress.	**11** 1788—At the New York Ratifying Convention, John Jay moved for the ratification of the Constitution with the recommendation of any explanatory, useful, or expedient amendments.	**12** 1788—Monroe wrote to Jefferson about George Washington's influence at the Virginia Convention: "Be assured his influence carried this government; for my own part, I have boundless confidence in him."	**13** 1788—Nathan Dane wrote Caleb Strong concerning the debate in Congress: "We now have thirteen states on the floor of Congress—a circumstance which has not happened before for several years past."	**14** 1788—John Dickinson, declining to serve in the Senate, wrote Tench Coxe, "...convinced that the Weakness of my health will not permit me to go through the fatigues of a close attention to such momentous business."	**15** 1788—At the New York Ratifying Convention, Melancton Smith moved to make ratification of the Constitution conditional upon approval of the suggested amendments.	**16** 1788—Madison wrote Randolph that the question of New York's ratification "...is interesting...with the question relative to the place to be recommended for the meeting of the first Congress."
17 1788—Paine Wingate reported to New Hampshire lawyer John Pickering: "There is too much, I suspect, of personal animosity among some members of the Convention..."	**18** 1788—Thomas Jefferson wrote Edward Rutledge: "We can surely boast of having set the world a beautiful example of a government reformed by reason alone without bloodshed."	**19** 1788—Robert Morris of New Jersey wrote Silas Talbot saying, "... the rejoicing for the Virginia adoption was postponed...in the expectation that New York might make the eleventh adopting state."	**20** 1788—From New York, Nathan Dane wrote Theodore Sedgwick: "The principal point in dispute is where shall Congress assemble under the Constitution."	**21** 1788—The first North Carolina Ratifying Convention opened in a church at Hillsboro.	**22** 1788—Pierse Long wrote Nicholas Gilman that he regretted the decision for Congress to meet in February: "I could have wished them to convene in December. A procrastination can work no good."	**23** 1788—New York anticipated the ratification of the Constitution with a parade designed by Major Pierre Charles l'Enfant that featured the frigate, *The Hamilton*.
24 1788—George Washington reported that the miniature ship *Federalist*, from the Baltimore Procession, sank during a hurricane.	**25** 1788—The ranks of the Antifederalists at the New York Ratifying Convention were split when Melancton Smith capitulated on the issue of making ratification conditional on the presence of amendments.	**26** 1788—The New York Convention ratified the Constitution, 30 to 27, and urged the states to support a second convention for the consideration of necessary amendments.	**27** 1788—James McHenry wrote George Washington: "It is whispered here that some leading characters among you...have determined on some secret plan to suspend the proper organization of the government or to defeat it altogether."	**28** 1788—New York distributed a circular letter signed by George Clinton calling for a second general constitutional convention.	**29** 1788—Aaron Burr wrote that New York's ratification was a "...fortunate event and the only one which could have preserved peace..."	**30** 1788—In the North Carolina Ratifying Convention, Richard Dobbs Spaight spoke in rebuttal of the charge that the Constitutional Convention had acted illegally.
31 1788—Thomas Jefferson wrote James Madison: "I sincerely rejoice at the acceptance of our new Constitution by nine states. It is a good canvas, on which some strokes only want retouching."						

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	1 1788—In the N.C. Ratifying Convention, William R. Davie argued for the inclusion of a vote on James Iredell's minority report stating, "Nothing hurt his feelings so much as the blind tyranny of a dead majority."	**2** 1788—The North Carolina Convention proposed amendments and refused to ratify the Constitution until the amendments were submitted to Congress and to a second Constitutional Convention.	**3** 1788—Washington wrote Madison on the meeting place for the new government: "If the bond is strong enough to hold the body together, the parts should submit to the inconveniences for the benefits they derive."	**4** 1788—The North Carolina Ratifying Convention adjourned having failed to ratify the Constitution.	**5** 1788—The Confederation Congress continued the debate over the election ordinance. Baltimore was reconsidered and rejected as the capitol. New York City was approved.	**6** 1788—Congress agreed that presidential electors should be chosen on the first Wednesday of January 1789, vote on the first Wednesday of February, and the new Congress should conduct business on the first Wednesday of March.
7 1788—Hamilton moved that since Rhode Island and North Carolina had not approved the Constitution, their votes in the Election Ordinance should not in any way be construed as support for the Constitution.	**8** 1788—Abraham Yates, Jr. wrote that he believed, "... the Constitution ... in its present form will be destructive to the liberties of the people."	**9** 1788—Thomas Jefferson wrote James Monroe that the Constitution needed a Bill of Rights and an amendment prohibiting Presidential re-election to office for a man "once chosen will be always chosen, he is a king for life."	**10** 1788—James Madison sent *The Federalist Papers* to Thomas Jefferson stating, "I believe, I never have yet mentioned to you that publication. It was undertaken last fall by Jay, Hamilton, and myself."	**11** 1788—Madison wrote concerning a second amending convention: "... it is seriously to be feared that the system which has withstood so many direct attacks may be at last successfully undermined by its enemies."	**12** 1788—John Hancock visited Portsmouth, New Hampshire in an obvious bid to solicit support for the Presidency or Vice-Presidency.	**13** 1788—Alexander Hamilton wrote George Washington that it was indispensable that Washington should lend himself to the first operations of the new government to give it a firm establishment.
14 1788—News of the North Carolina Convention's refusal to ratify the Constitution reached the Confederation Congress in New York City.	**15** 1788—William Bingham of Philadelphia wrote Samuel Meredith that the Congress would agree to move the capital south if the delegates from South Carolina and Georgia were not so anti-Philadelphia.	**16** 1788—George Washington expressed his confidence to Charles Pettit that "the People, when rightly informed, will decide in a proper manner."	**17** 1788—The *New Hampshire Gazette* noted John Hancock's departure stating, "This illustrious patriot ... appears to be selected ... for the second seat in the new federal government."	**18** 1788—John Quincy Adams noted the obvious campaigning of John Hancock in Newburyport: "This morning I perceived a deal of stirring in the streets and was finally informed the Governor was reviewing the troops of this town ..."	**19** 1788—In the Baltimore *Maryland Journal*, "A Friend to Candour" wrote that the proposed Federal Government will greatly advance the town and it has become the wish of all to see it in motion.	**20** 1788—Thomas FitzSimons wrote concerning the delay in approving an election ordinance: "There are moments in public as well as private affairs, which, if not improved, are never to be recovered."
21 1788—The *Cumberland Gazette* noted that "the question is not what will be the most convenient or best suit the interest of New England, but what does the interest of the Union require?"	**22** 1788—James Madison wrote Edmund Randolph systematically setting forth the dangers that might occur if a second general constitutional convention were to occur.	**23** 1788—James Madison wrote Thomas Jefferson about his conviction that the influence of Patrick Henry had turned North Carolina against the Constitution.	**24** 1788—James Madison wrote George Washington that the circular letter from New York calling for another convention was seen by the opposition "as the signal for united exertions in pursuit of early amendments."	**25** 1788—William Bingham wrote Tench Coxe stating, "Nothing can more effectually induce the advocates for [N.Y.] to abandon their ideas more than public agitation and clamorous voice for a more impartial arrangement."	**26** 1788—The Confederation Congress continued to debate the election ordinance. Wilmington, Delaware and New York City, New York were rejected as sites for the capital.	**27** 1788—A special session of the New Jersey legislature met. Interests from both Philadelphia and New York pressured the legislature to instruct New Jersey's delegates to choose one of the cities as the nation's capital.
28 1788—George Washington wrote Benjamin Lincoln observing that the circular letter from New York calling for another convention was designed "to set everything afloat again."	**29** 1788—Washington wrote Sir Edward Newenham: "We exhibit ... a whole people deliberating calmly on what form of government will be most conducive to their happiness ..."	**30** 1788—The *New York Independent Journal* complained that it was "more than two months since the ratification of the Constitution by the ninth state was transmitted to Congress" and yet "no steps whatever are taken ..."	**31** 1788—George Washington wrote Thomas Jefferson: "For myself, I was ready to have embraced any tolerable compromise, that was competent to save us from impending ruin ..."			

August 1988

September 1988

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
				1 1788—The *Pennsylvania Packet* reported that if the new government was set up too far north, it would "create a very alarming effect on the minds of the Southern citizens of the United States. . ."	**2** 1788—George Mason wrote that New York had found itself "under the necessity of adopting also, for fear of being left out of the union, and of civil commotions."	**3** 1788—Edmund Randolph wrote James Madison: "I confess to you without reservation, that I feel great distrust of some of those whom I suspect to be capable of making a wicked use of its defects."
4 1788—William Few wrote that the argument against Philadelphia as the capital was that it was too big and commercial and could bring undue influence upon the government meeting there.	**5** LABOR DAY 1788—Nicholas Gilman reported to John Langdon (N.H.) that despite the "spirit of accommodation" of the New Hampshire delegation, Congress was still at an impasse on a meeting place for the new government.	**6** 1788—The *New York Independent Journal* argued that the backers of Philadelphia have praised it so much "that it appears the honor will be conferred on Congress. . . instead of Congress conferring it upon them."	**7** 1788—Alexander Graydon wrote that at the Pennsylvania Antifederal Party meeting, delegates "have fixed upon several amendments which they propose offering to Congress through the medium of the Assembly."	**8** 1788—William R. Davie wrote James Iredell that Willie Jones and Thomas Person were saying North Carolina should stay out of the Union for five or six years at least.	**9** 1788—The *Pennsylvania Mercury* argued that the will of the people was being thwarted while the issue of a capital is but "a childish tale."	**10** 1788—Morgan Lewis wrote Tench Coxe: "A temporary residence being all they have at present in view, I cannot conceive the interests of the continent materially affected, be the determination in favor of either."
11 1788—Paine Wingate wrote John Langdon: "I do not imagine that the delay as yet has put off the time when the operation of the new government would commence, or has been injurious . . ."	**12** 1788—The Confederation Congress chose New York City as the meeting place for the new government.	**13** 1788—Congress set the dates for the election of the new government under the Constitution.	**14** 1788—Madison wrote Randolph: "The times were finally settled as January—choice of Electors; February—choice of a President; and March—meeting of Congress; place—the present seat of the federal government."	**15** 1788—The *Pennsylvania Packet* published the proceedings of the Harrisburg Convention.	**16** 1788—The New York *Daily Advertiser* printed the Election Ordinance of September 13th.	**17** CITIZENSHIP DAY 1788—Richard Peters wrote Washington concerning the Antifederalists in Pennsylvania: "They are now very federal, they want amendments, and they must get into the seats of government to bring them about."
18 1788—The Pennsylvania Assembly appointed a committee to draft an election bill in accordance with the Election Ordinance of September 13th.	**19** 1788—Massachusetts Governor John Hancock presented the Election Ordinance of September 13th before the Council.	**20** 1788—The Pittsburgh *Gazette* printed a report of the Westmoreland County Committee calling for amendments "as shall render the proposed plan a government of freedom, confidence and energy."	**21** 1788—James Madison wrote Thomas Jefferson stating that many of the opponents of the Constitution preferred to offer amendments rather than have a second convention.	**22** 1788—George Washington wrote Henry Lee that the major obstacle to an acceptance of the Presidency would be "a belief, that some other person could execute all the duties. . . as satisfactorily as myself."	**23** 1788—Connecticut Governor Huntington wrote N.C. Governor Johnston discussing the future proposal of amendments: "No Constitution of government can make a people happy without virtue and wisdom."	**24** 1788—James Madison wrote Edmund Randolph: "Congress has agreed to some resolutions in favor of the Mississippi which were well calculated to appease the discontents of our western brethren."
25 1788—Jacob Hiltzheimer recorded that after the Pennsylvania Assembly adjourned, about "twenty-five members met at Hassell's Tavern to consult on the selection of two Senators to represent this state."	**26** 1788—The Confederation Congress Election Ordinance of September 13 was delivered to South Carolina Governor Thomas Pinckney.	**27** 1788—South Carolina Governor Thomas Pinckney issued a proclamation urging the legislature to meet punctually on October 7 to take up consideration of the Election Ordinance.	**28** 1788—Le Baron de Beelen-Bertholf wrote: "John Adams will defeat John Hancock for vice-president of the U.S. and Rhode Island will be divided between Connecticut and Massachusetts."	**29** 1788—The Pennsylvania Assembly read their election bill, debated it, and ordered it engrossed.	**30** 1788—Pennsylvania chose its two United States Senators, Robert Morris and William Maclay. It was the first state to choose both senators.	

October 1988

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
						1 1788—The Philadelphia Federalists called a conference at Lancaster to nominate candidates for Congress.
2 1788—The *Federal Committee* urged Colonel Nathan Dennison and Timothy Pickering to appoint two deputies from their county to attend the meeting at Lancaster.	**3** 1788—Robert Morris and William Maclay acknowledged their willingness to serve in the new Senate and expressed their desire to do so "in the hope of being serviceable to our country."	**4** 1788—George Clinton complained to Edmund Randolph, "... that while the new Constitution was in agitation, I have discovered that many letters written to me, have never been delivered ..."	**5** 1788—Thomas Mifflin informed Jeremiah Wadsworth of a motion "to recommend the letter from Governor Clinton with the amendments of the [N.Y.] Convention to the succeeding General Assembly, but it was negated by a great majority."	**6** 1788—Thomas Hartley warned Tench Coxe that, "The persons who are against the new Constitution are taking all the pains in their power to obtain a majority in the federal legislature ..."	**7** 1788—Benjamin Rush wrote Dr. Jeremy Belknap, "Adams will probably have all the votes of our State for the Vice-President's chair. Mr. Hancock's frequent indispositions alone will preclude him from that mark of respect from Pennsylvania."	**8** 1788—James Madison wrote Philip Mazzei: "... experience has proved that the real danger to America and to liberty lies in the defect of *energy* and *stability* in the present establishments of the United States."
9 1788—Connecticut Governor Samuel Huntington stated, "The prosperity and happiness of the Union will greatly depend on the proceedings and regulations which shall be adopted by the first Congress."	**10** COLUMBUS DAY 1788—The Congress of the Confederation transacted its last official business.	**11** 1788—The *Georgia State Gazette* published an article reporting, "... the general joy which marked the inhabitants" as the information of the Constitution's ratification by eleven states reached Augusta.	**12** 1788—Edward Carrington wrote James Monroe that Virginia ought to reject New York's Circular Letter and "strongly recommend the desired alterations to the notice of the first Congress."	**13** 1788—The *Boston Gazette* reported, "... under the new Constitution the power of the people is increased."	**14** 1788—A joint committee presented a draft bill to the Connecticut General Assembly recommending procedures for electing Senators.	**15** 1788—The Connecticut legislature elected Oliver Ellsworth and William Samuel Johnson as the state's first United States Senators.
16 1788—Theodore Sedgwick wrote Hamilton: "Lincoln and Knox I love, their characters too I respect, but ... the minds of all men seem to be fixed either on Adams or Hancock."	**17** 1788—James Madison wrote Thomas Jefferson that he had always been in favor of a Bill of Rights "because I supposed it might be of use, and if properly executed could not be of disservice."	**18** 1788—The City of Philadelphia elected delegates to the Lancaster Conference to nominate Federalist Representatives to Congress.	**19** 1788—Edward Carrington wrote James Madison and reported that George Washington was "fully persuaded that anti-federalism will be the actuating principle" in the Virginia Assembly.	**20** 1788—St. John de Crevecoeur wrote Thomas Jefferson that the first Congress would have its hands full discriminating the useful from the needless among the amendments offered by the states.	**21** 1788—William Williams wrote Congressman Huntington for a copy of Luther Martin's report on the Philadelphia Convention. He asked that the request be confidential, fearing that he might be accused of treason.	**22** 1788—John Cleves Symmes of New Jersey questioned, "... whether the people have ability to govern themselves or must ... submit to receive a master of their own or others [choosing]."
23 1788—In Delaware, Thomas Collins presented the Congressional Election Ordinance to the House of Assembly.	**24** 1788—The Delaware House of Representatives Election Committee suggested that senators be chosen by a joint ballot of both Houses of the Legislature.	**25** 1788—A joint session of the Delaware General Assembly chose Richard Bassett and George Read as the first United States Senators from Delaware.	**26** 1788—Henry Hollingsworth, a Representative from Maryland, informed his brother, "We are all Federal and our Delegates from this county will go instructed regarding the elections for Delegates for Congress."	**27** 1788—The *Litchfield Weekly Monitor* reported on the election of representatives to the new Congress. "... on their deliberations, and judicious arrangements, the future greatness of the United States most essentially depends."	**28** 1788—Jonathan Trumbull Jr. reported to Washington: "Excepting a few ... we continue very unanimous in sentiment and salutary measures in this state [Connecticut]."	**29** 1788—Charles Lee informed George Washington that Patrick Henry had announced he would oppose any measure designed to facilitate the operation of the new government.
30 1788—The Virginia House of Delegates approved resolutions calling for a second Constitutional Convention and sent them to committee for drafting into appropriate form.	**31** 1788—The Virginia House of Delegates approved and sent to committee Francis Corbin's resolutions for the election of representatives and presidential electors.					

November 1988

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
		1 1788—The *Massachusetts Centinel* supported the plan of choosing federal Representatives at large to avoid "the pernicious acts of caballing and influencing" and to afford the best chance "of obtaining *the best men* and *the best abilities*."	**2** 1788—Theodore Sedgwick wrote Alexander Hamilton concerning Massachusetts' inclination to support a second Constitutional Convention.	**3** 1788—Jeremiah Olney informed Hamilton that the Rhode Island legislature had once again refused to call a Ratifying Convention, but would distribute the New York call for another general convention and would poll the towns again on the Constitution.	**4** 1788—The South Carolina election law divided the state into five election districts based on the seven judicial districts established before the Revolution.	**5** 1788—Maryland Governor William Smallwood presented the Election Ordinance of the Confederation Congress to the House of Delegates.
6 1788—The New Hampshire House and Senate began debate on a plan for the first federal elections in New Hampshire.	**7** 1788—John Sandford Dart, Clerk of the House of Representatives of South Carolina, certified the official polling places for the state and federal elections scheduled for November 24 and 25.	**8** 1788—The Virginia Assembly elected Richard Henry Lee and William Grayson, two outspoken opponents of the Constitution, to the first United States Senate.	**9** 1788—Alexander Hamilton wrote Theodore Segwick that he preferred John Adams over John Hancock for the Vice-Presidency: "Mr. Adams to a sound understanding has *always* appeared to me to add an ardent love for the public good."	**10** 1788—The freemen of Connecticut nominated candidates to serve in the House of Representatives in the new Congress.	**11** VETERANS DAY 1788—Tench Coxe wrote Matthew Pearce: "... the complexion of the federal senate is very pleasing thus far—but I fear from Virginia there is some danger of *two* enemies to the Constitution."	**12** 1788—The *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported that it was remarkable that "six of the representatives fixed upon by the conferees at Lancaster were members of the late state Convention, and the remaining two members of the Federal Convention."
13 1788—The New Hampshire House and Senate concurred on the formation of a joint committee to "consider in what manner the act for carrying into effect the ordinance of Congress of September last shall be printed and dispersed."	**14** 1788—The Virginia House of Delegates approved a resolution supporting the New York Ratifying Convention's proposal for a second Constitutional Convention.	**15** 1788—Patrick Henry wrote Richard Henry Lee: "The universal cry is for amendments, and the Federals are obliged to join in it... I firmly believe the American union depends on the success of amendments."	**16** 1788—Abigail Adams wrote John Adams recounting a conversation in which an innkeeper had high praise for Samuel Johnson and Oliver Ellsworth and had hopes that the other states would choose senators of equal standing.	**17** 1788—Washington wrote James Madison: "The edicts of Mr. Henry are enregistered with less opposition by the majority of that body (the Virginia Assembly) than those of the Grand Monarch in the Parliaments of France."	**18** 1788—Thomas Jefferson thanked Madison for sending *The Federalist Papers*: "... in my opinion, the best commentary on the principles of government which ever was written."	**19** 1788—The *Federal Gazette* warned, "Nothing but the immediate establishment of the federal government can save us from... submission to the government of Great Britain..."
20 1788—Virginia, under the Constitution, requested that Congress call a second Constitutional Convention to consider amendments to the Constitution.	**21** 1788—The Massachusetts House nominated Caleb Strong and Charles Jarvis to represent the state in the first United States Senate. Charles Jarvis was rejected by the State Senate.	**22** 1788—In the Massachusetts House, Dr. Charles Jarvis withdrew his name from consideration for the United States Senate nomination, thanking the House for the "uniform and manly support he had so often received."	**23** 1788—Alexander Hamilton wrote James Madison: "If you are not in one of the branches, the government may sincerely feel the want of men who unite to zeal all the requisite qualifications for parrying the machinations of its enemies."	**24** THANKSGIVING DAY 1788—The Massachusetts House and Senate concurred on the appointment of Tristram Dalton to represent the state in the first United States Senate.	**25** 1788—Virginia Lieutenant Governor Beverley Randolph proclaimed that the Election for Presidential Electors would be held on the first Wednesday in January and for representatives on the second day in February.	**26** 1788—George Mason wrote John Francis Mercer updating him on the call by the Virginia Assembly for a new Federal Convention to amend the Constitution.
27 1788—The Maryland House of Delegates resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole to resolve the question of the first federal elections in Maryland, but failed to decide the issue.	**28** 1788—*The Boston Independent Chronicle* reported from Maryland: "The affection for the new government is firmly established in the minds of the good people of this state and this sentiment pervades the various classes of citizens..."	**29** 1788—David Humphreys wrote Thomas Jefferson expressing that America had witnessed "an extraordinary revolution in the sentiments of men, respecting political affairs."	**30** 1788—North Carolina called for a second State Ratifying Convention.			

December 1988

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
				1 1788—The Maryland House of Delegates once again resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole to discuss questions relative to the first federal elections. Once again, they failed to resolve the issue.	**2** 1788—The *New Hampshire Spy* reported that in Pierse Long, Paine Wingate and Benjamin West, "... the commercial, agricultural, and civil interest of the states are blended..."	**3** 1788—The Maryland House Committee of the Whole approved resolutions for the first federal elections. The Senate approved a resolution for electing U.S. Senators and sent it to the House.
4 1788—Thomas Jefferson expressed his opinion that the Bill of Rights would "draw over so great a proportion of the minorities, as to leave little danger in the opposition of the residue..."	**5** 1788—The *New Hampshire Spy* reported that Nathaniel Peabody, Paine Wingate, and Simeon Olcott would probably command a majority of the votes for federal representatives from that state.	**6** 1788—Henry Jackson informed Henry Knox that Nathaniel Gorham would decline to run for the House of Representatives.	**7** 1788—In a letter to Benjamin Franklin, Francis Childs wrote that he has just published the first volume of the debates of the Constitutional Convention.	**8** 1788—James Madison explained to Thomas Jefferson that even though he found it very disagreeable and he had no great hope of success, he would return to Virginia to run for Congress.	**9** 1788—By joint ballot, the Maryland General Assembly elected John Henry to the first United States Senate.	**10** 1788—By joint ballot, the Maryland General Assembly elected Charles Carroll to the first United States Senate.
11 1788—Henry Lee wrote George Washington explaining that due to the candidacy of John Page, a supporter of the Constitution, he would decline to run for election as a representative.	**12** 1788—The *Maryland Gazette* reported that the Maryland Senate and House had agreed that the election of Senators to represent Maryland should be by joint ballot of both Houses.	**13** 1788—The *Massachusetts Centinel* printed an article under the pseudonym "Constitutionalist" which praised the patriotism and character of Samuel Adams, but questioned his dedication to the new Constitution.	**14** 1788—Andrew Shepherd wrote James Madison supporting his candidacy for the first federal Congress and urging him to make personal appearances in the eight county district as soon as possible.	**15** 1788—In the first New Hampshire election for Representatives and Electors, no candidate received sufficient votes to win the election.	**16** 1788—George Sterling blamed Willie Jones for halting ratification in North Carolina and asked, "Was this a time to smoke pipe, and suck the paw like a surly bear, when your house was on fire?"	**17** 1788—The Winchester *Virginia Centinel* warned, "... antifederalists have got into the legislature of a neighboring state, and formed federal counties, by putting on an appearance of acquiescence and moderation."
18 1788—George Mason, in a letter to his son John, labeled outgoing Virginia Governor Edmund Randolph "a young Arnold" for his betrayal of the Antifederalist cause at the Virginia Ratifying Convention.	**19** 1788—James Ash, Sheriff of Philadelphia, published the public notice of the Election of Presidential Electors to be held on Wednesday, January 7, 1789.	**20** 1788—The Clerk of the S.C. House of Representatives gave official notice to the legislature to meet in Charleston on Monday, January 5, 1789 and to appoint "Electors of a President of the United States".	**21** 1788—Henry Knox wrote George Washington giving him an optimistic report of Federalist prospects in the states from Delaware and Maryland northward.	**22** 1788—Connecticut elected Roger Sherman, Benjamin Huntington, Jonathan Sturges, Jonathan Trumbull Jr., and Jeremiah Wadsworth to the United States House of Representatives in a statewide election.	**23** 1788—The State of Maryland ceded ten square miles to Congress for a federal city.	**24** 1788—Thomas McKean reported to William Augustus Atlee that "six of the Lancaster ticket are elected" partially due to "the too great confidence of the advocates of the new Constitution..."
25 CHRISTMAS DAY 1788—William Vans Murray announced his candidacy: "Encouraged by the partiality of my friends...I have presumed to offer myself as a REPRESENTATIVE TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES."	**26** 1788—Virginia Governor Beverley Randolph certified the credentials of William Grayson and Richard Henry Lee to the United States Senate.	**27** 1788—The *Massachusetts Centinel* reported: "The inhabitants of Connecticut appointed their Representatives to the new Congress. All the persons chosen are staunch Constitutionalists."	**28** 1788—Melancton Smith wrote John Smith: "I am of opinion that ... there will be great danger of an Aristocracy or a government substantially the same, being established by means of this Body."	**29** 1788—Oliver Ellsworth wrote Gov. Huntington that he was highly honored by his selection to represent Connecticut in the Senate, but he would prefer to remain on the court.	**30** 1788—Edward Carrington wrote James Madison: "I have heard of your arrival in Virginia. I think it will be best for you to give your attention principally to Culpepper and Spotsylvania."	**31** 1788—The New Hampshire General Court opened to count vote returns for Congressional Representative and Presidential Electors.

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